

Next 2 Page(s) In Document Exempt

SUMMARY OF SOVIET BOOK, THE POLITICAL PARTIES OF AFRICA

A new book, published in Moscow for a limited readership of Soviet specialists, gives an unusually frank picture of Soviet attitudes to political developments in Africa. The book, The Political Parties of Africa, was passed by the censors last October and has been issued under the auspices of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Africa Institute in an edition of only 3,700 copies.

Presumably because of the restricted readership, the dozen Soviet African experts who collaborated on the book under the editorship of V. G. Solodovnikov, the Africa Institute Director and a former Soviet representative at the United Nations, have been particularly outspoken both about conditions in Africa and previous Soviet analyses of the situation.

While African statesmen are criticised for "Utopian" views and other heresies by the Soviet experts, they point out that some of their own colleagues have taken an over-simplified view of African leaders. The book contains biographies of several African leaders to stress that there cannot be any automatic way of "defining political sympathies on the basis of social origin....Like other continents, Africa knows examples of political leaders who have refused to serve their class.... These examples testify to the incorrectness of identifying the aristocratic stratum of chiefs with reactionaries, without any qualifications--a view disseminated quite widely in (Soviet) Africanist literature."

The book names those "revolutionary-democratic" parties--in Guinea, Algeria, the UAR, Tanzania, Congo-Brazzaville, Angola, Portuguese Guinea and Mozambique--which the authors believe can become "reliable detachments of the African and international Communist and workers' movement." "Revolutionary-democratic" parties is the Soviet term for the kind of "national Socialist" parties with a mass membership familiar in developing countries.

The authors describe how present nationalist parties of a mass nature are to be "transformed" into Communist-type parties. Firstly, "the establishment of a single-party system of government is one of the most important political successes of parties of the revolutionary-democratic type." But the book warns Soviet specialists not to commit themselves to supporting present-day ruling parties of this type, since it was "impossible to exclude the possibility of a departure from a single-party system":

"This system corresponds to the present-day state of social relations in the progressive countries of Tropical Africa. But the social structures of African countries are going through a period of stormy changes, new social forces are emerging on to the historical arena, in particular the political role of the working class is becoming increasingly noticeable. Under these conditions any dogmatism in the evaluation of the single-party system in the concrete historical epoch of a given African country could entail serious mistakes."

Challenge Planned

The implication is that Marxist opposition groups may be formed and that leaders now hailed by the Russians as "progressive" may be challenged by them when the time is ripe. The book predicts that the tendency towards one-man rule will inevitably fade away, "although it will probably be a long time before this problem is fully resolved." There are several references to the fact that opposition continues within and outside the single ruling parties and that although it can be repressed for a time, "sooner or later the moment of serious upheavals arrives, as a result of which it becomes clear that the single-party system cannot be regarded as a panacea."

Sometimes these "upheavals" have already taken place, producing a result not favoured by the Soviet authors. They say of the military regimes now existing in Africa:

"The replacement of a regime of mercenary bureaucrats by often incompetent officers does not decide anything itself.... It is clear that it is impossible to implement even correct programmes by relying only on the army and deliberately rejecting political, i.e. party, forms of leading the masses. The soil for the regrowth of new parties inevitably remains in those countries where military regimes crush down political life in general."

Returning to the more progressive "revolutionary-democratic" parties, the book says that they have entered a new phase: "These processes are accompanied by a heightening of discussion around ideological questions, a growing interest towards the Marxist-Leninist teaching. The parties' success in the new phase will greatly depend on the extent to which these new trends will become consolidated in practice and how quickly the new tendencies will be understood and become the parties' norms...."

"Facts demonstrate that the transformation of the present-day mass popular revolutionary-democratic parties into parties of a vanguard (i.e. Communist) type is being placed on the agenda. One cannot consider that there is unanimity on this question in the political thinking of revolutionary democrats. Although the process of transforming present-day parties into Socialist vanguard parties has in practice begun, it is continuing in an extremely slow and contradictory manner...."

"In conditions whereby the influence of trade unions, the youth movement and peasant organisations remains strong within revolutionary-democratic parties, the tendency towards their transformation into vanguard parties begins to show increasingly clearly. This process in general corresponds to the logic of the class war. The former anti-colonial front slowly disintegrates and a dilemma arises before revolutionary-democratic parties--to continue to be allied to the bourgeoisie or to take the side firmly of workers and peasants.... The relative weakness of class contradictions in the towns and the communal survivals (i.e. traditional African village life) in the countryside...favor the durability of illusions about the possibly lengthy existence of parties common to whole peoples."

### Class Struggle

Here the Soviet long-term opposition to mass nationalist parties is clear, even though it is conceded that in Africa the social basis for the class struggle which the Russians would welcome is not very promising. The authors go on to indicate that, whatever the present situation, they expect the class struggle to emerge:

"It remains an indisputable fact that class differentiation is taking its normal course in Africa.... This process does not by-pass single-party regimes either.... It may be that this struggle is being waged within a formally single party...but its class basis is undoubted. Nor can one forget the illegal, extra-parliamentary opposition under conditions of single-party regimes."

Despite the relative lack of class conflict in Africa, the book attacks "revolutionary democrats" who deny that Communism can "have real roots on the African continent. One does not have to prove that these people are willy-nilly in the same camp as the anti-Communists and, as a consequence, as the defenders of capitalism."

A sign that the Russians are cautious about forcing the pace, thereby jeopardising their long-term plans, is the book's denunciation of "left-wing extremism." Nevertheless, the fact that a left-wing is emerging in revolutionary-democratic parties such as those in Algeria and Egypt is welcomed. Discussing a number of Marxist-Leninist parties on the African continent, the book declares:

"The basic programmatic theses of the revolutionary-democratic parties often coincide with (those) of Marxist-Leninist parties or those related to them. At the same time, the views of Communists and revolutionary democrats do not always coincide on many other questions."

"This is understandable. The revolutionary-democratic parties are not consistent Marxists. Their basic membership consists of peasants who have inherited from many years of colonial overlordship political and cultural backwardness and religious fanaticism.... However, representatives of the African intelligentsia and the young working class, inspired by scientific Socialist ideas...actively work in the central organs of these parties as well as in their middle and lower ranks."

### Sudanese Example

The book cites the example of the Sudan, where following the take-over in May, 1969, Communists joined the government. It claims: "Communists do not strive for a political monopoly, ruled by some sort of egoistical considerations.... This can be seen with particular clarity from the example of the activities of Sudanese Communists."

But on February 12 President Nimeri attacked the Sudanese Communist Party, claiming that it had been "perpetrating subversion against the production machinery in various ways, including interference with trade union work, ...wrecking production and disseminating secret pamphlets, disastrous rumours and harmful lies and spreading fear and dismay among

Approved For Release 1999/09/02 : CIA-RDP79-01194A000300070001-6



He warned that the Sudanese revolution would not allow the creation of a new party, secretly or overtly: "The revolution did not take place to support one group against another but to support the entire people."

Pointing out that difficult tasks lie before African Communists, the book ends with interesting insights into recommended tactics. The main task is said to be for Communists to attract to them not only a reliable and conscious minority, but the mass of the workers as well. Though "extraordinarily difficult," the task could be accomplished--"as the positive experience of Sudanese Communists shows."

"The working-out of correct tactics by Communists with regard to ruling revolutionary-democratic parties acquires particular importance.... In entering the ranks of mass revolutionary-democratic parties and carrying out daily work within them, Communists revolutionise these parties....

"But entry by CP members into a ruling party is likened by Communists least of all to dissolution within it. On the contrary, they strive to raise a mass revolutionary party to the level of a conscious Socialist vanguard, to a close-knit union of genuinely like-minded people. It is natural that in doing this they have to rely mainly on the left-wing, more revolutionary elements and overcome the resistance of right-wing, nationalist elements....

"The only way of putting an end to ideological pressure on the party by elements hostile to the spirit of Socialism is...by means of periodically purging its ranks of alien and casual elements."

The book raises two basic possibilities for Communist takeovers in Africa: firstly, "revolutionising" ruling parties from within by creating "close-knit union(s) of genuinely like-minded people" who proceed to purge their opponents, and secondly, opposition from outside the ruling party:

"Making use of the experience of more mature Communist and workers' parties, African Communists are striving to master different forms of struggle for the basic interests of the workers--from peaceful and parliamentary ones to armed ones--in order to be ready for any change in the political situation."

TIME

2 August 1971

CPYRGHP

**Revolving-Door Coup**

The Sudan in midsummer is an oven of a land where temperatures soar to 120° day after day and tempers tend to get even hotter. Since he took power 26 months ago, Major General Jaafar Numeiry, 41, leader of the ruling Revolutionary Command Council, has faced eight attempted coups, most of them during the summer months. Last week members of the army elite that governs this equatorial nation of 15 million staged the most confusing hot-weather spectacular since it won independence from Britain 15 years ago. In the space of a few days, rebellious officers toppled the government, imprisoned Numeiry, were toppled themselves and, as happened in Morocco only a week earlier, were summarily executed.

The initial revolt was bloodless, but the countercoup was a running battle that littered the streets of Khartoum with dead and crowded its hospitals with wounded. Though the fighting was confined to the capital and to Omdurman across the Nile, the repercussions rippled far beyond the Sudan. The Soviets quickly supported the dissidents and were noticeably distressed by Numeiry's countercoup. Libyan Leader Muammar Gaddafi, the hotspur of the Arab world, barged into the internal problems of another nation for the second time in two weeks. He was more effective than he had been in Morocco, however. By forcing down a British jet and kidnapping two rebel leaders, he took much of the spunk out of the anti-Numeiry forces.

Mohammed and Marx. In Khartoum, the principal leader of the coup was Major Hashem al Atta, 35. Atta and two other Communist sympathizers had been booted off the ruling seven-officer Revolutionary Command Council by Numeiry last November, ostensibly for leaking state secrets. Atta, supported by the presidential guard and an armored division, skillfully directed the takeover of Numeiry's headquarters and Omdurman radio, which proclaimed that "democratic Sudan has been established." Atta named Lieut. Colonel Babakr al Nour, 37, to be president of a revolutionary council, and himself vice president.

The rebels, he said, wanted lower living costs, freedom for Communists and trade unionists, and autonomy for the non-Moslem rebels of southern Sudan,

who have been in revolt ever since independence (TIME, March 1). Atta was reinforced not only by elements of the Sudan's 26,000-man army but also by the nation's Communist Party. With 6,000 active members and the support of 200,000 trade unionists, it is the biggest and most vigorous in the Arab world, largely by virtue of its skill at getting Marx and Mohammed to coexist (verses from the Koran are chanted in unison at party meetings). Though he is a leftist, Numeiry is an intense foe of the local Communists—partly because they oppose his plan to link the Sudan in a federation with Libya, Egypt and Syria, and partly because he is convinced that they want to undermine him. Communist Leader Abdel Khalek Mahgoub wisely kept out of sight last week as sympathetic army officers mounted their coup. But there were reports that he masterminded the coup from the Bulgarian embassy in Khartoum.

Abdel Khalek's brother, Major Mohammed Mahgoub Osman, however, was quite visible. Along with Nour and Major Farouk Osman Hamadallah, he was in London when the coup was staged. Alerted that it had succeeded, the three officers and their aides boarded a BOAC VC10 bound for Khartoum, Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. Khartoum airport was closed, but Atta announced that he would open it for the VC10.

One for the Road. The plane was moving into Libyan airspace and monitoring Malta air control when the trouble came. Captain Roy Bowyer heard Benghazi break in and order: "You must land at Benina Airport or we shall shoot you down." Some passengers said they saw a fighter buzzing the plane. With 109 passengers aboard, Bowyer was not inclined to take any chances. Nour agreed to give himself up. According to London *Daily Telegraph* Correspondent Brian Silk, a fellow passenger, Hamadallah summoned the first-class steward and said: "Libya is a dry country under Gaddafi. We'd better have another whisky while we can."

When the plane landed in predawn darkness at Benina, it was met by two security men and a soldier. After a ten-minute conversation with his welcoming committee, Nour told the pilot that he was getting off. Asked Bowyer: "Are you leaving of your own free will?" "No," answered Nour. "We are being forced." He disappeared along with Ma-

ior Hamadallah (for unknown reasons, Mahgoub was not removed from the plane).

Shades of Indonesia. Soon thereafter, troops loyal to Numeiry moved out of barracks, and rifle and cannon fire roared through Khartoum and Omdurman. The battle was short but intense: Numeiry later announced that as the countercoup began, 30 of his officers and men were captured and slaughtered by rebel soldiers. One U.S. Marine was wounded at the American-interests section of the Dutch embassy—the old American embassy before the Sudan severed relations following the 1967 Middle East war. From an embassy window, a U.S. diplomat saw the bodies of some 15 civilians sprawled near the presidential palace. Before Atta's forces lost the radio station, they broadcast a final message: "Hold on to revolutionary gains by the skin of your teeth." Then the radio fell silent. When it returned to the air, the first message was: "Numeiry is alive and well." Three hours later, a weeping Numeiry appeared on TV and radio. Into the streets of Khartoum for a celebration poured many of the people who earlier the same day had taken to the same streets in a similar demonstration for the rebels.

Numeiry moved swiftly once he had regained power. He telephoned Gaddafi to thank him for his help, and announced that "I am in complete control." He sent a similar message to Egypt's President Anwar Sadat, who was probably considerably relieved that he would not have a Communist-oriented regime on his southern flank.

Then Numeiry set about the business of revenge. "Arrest every Communist," he told the Sudanese. "The Communists are traitors." Whether that order would lead to an Indonesian-style slaughter was uncertain; in any case, the government was taking care of its special enemies. Numeiry established four tribunals for speedy justice. Atta and three other rebel officers were shot the next morning; other executions followed. Nour and Hamadallah, who were delivered to Numeiry by Gaddafi's aides, may also die. Like Jordan's King Hussein (see following story), the Sudanese leader was using strong measures to consolidate his power. Like Hussein, he may be setting in motion forces that could prove difficult to control.

TIME  
9 August 1971  
CPYRGH

## MIDDLE EAST

### Revenge in the Sudan

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat felt impelled to intervene. He telephoned Sudan's President, Major General Jaafar Numeiry, in Khartoum and offered a bit of advice: spare the life of Shafie Ahmed Sheikh, secretary-general of the Sudan's federation of trade unions, winner of the Lenin Peace Prize and a leader of the Arab world's strongest Communist Party (6,000 active members). Coolly, Numeiry said he would have been delighted to comply with the Egyptian request except for one thing—Sheikh had been hanged two hours before the telephone call.

Sheikh was one of three top-echelon Communists and eleven Sudanese army officers executed last week. Numeiry was taking bloody revenge for the unsuccessful revolt attempted the week before by Communist-oriented Sudanese army officers (TIME, Aug. 2). In the process he was virtually declaring war on the Communist Party.

"There will be no more Sudanese Communists wandering around," vowed a loyalist government minister as mass arrests and summary trials were carried out. At least 1,000 had been arrested by week's end. Among those executed were two officers who had been pulled off a British airplane two weeks ago by Libyan Leader Muammar Gaddafi and handed over to Numeiry. Lieut. Colonel Babakr al Nour, who had been flying home to Khartoum from London, denied prior knowledge of the plot against Numeiry. Then why had Nour been named leader of the new rebel government? Numeiry asked. "Was it because of your beautiful brown eyes?" Unable to answer, Nour was led away and shot at the Shajara army camp outside Khartoum.

Shortly afterward, the head of Sudan's Communist Party was also found guilty of treason. Abdel Khalek Mahgoub denied that he had advance knowledge of the plot. Again Numeiry stepped in to play prosecutor. He held up a sheet of paper listing Cabinet choices in a post-Numeiry government and asked Mahgoub if the handwriting were his. The Communist leader admitted that it was. The military court quickly found Mahgoub guilty of treason and hanged him.

**Russian Protest.** The executions had international repercussions. The Soviets could scarcely ignore the attack on an important Middle Eastern Communist party, especially since Communism has such an uncertain hold in the area (see box). Moscow officially warned Khartoum against what it called "the impermissibility of resorting to extreme measures"—a hint that the some 1,000 East bloc technicians working in the Sudan might be recalled.

To counter the criticism, Numeiry convened a press conference in Khartoum and described the treatment he had received when he was held by the rebels during the coup. "It was reprehensible," he said. "I went to the toilet only once in four days when I absolutely insisted on it." Then Numeiry put the onus for any breakdown in relations on the Russians. "If they want to choose that path, we will have no alternative," Numeiry said—which could mean he may beat the Russians to the punch by expelling the advisers before the Kremlin could order them to return home.

**Tripoli Summit.** In the midst of the furor over events in the Sudan, Libya's Gaddafi decided once again to project himself into the Middle East spotlight. He called together an instant Arab summit in Tripoli with a selective guest

list. The three Arab Kings—Hassan of Morocco, Feisal of Saudi Arabia and Hussein of Jordan—were snubbed. Gaddafi scorns them as too conservative; moreover, his primary reason for the summit was to discuss Hussein's hard attacks on the Arab guerrillas who have long used Jordan as a major base of operations. Iraq, everybody's odd man out and the only Arab government to support the Sudanese rebels, was also ignored.

Only four of the nine leaders who had been invited showed up. Hussein sarcastically thanked Gaddafi for "the invitation which I never received" and prayed facetiously that "God may direct you on the right path."

**Sisco in Israel.** The disorganized Arab situation was tailor-made for the Israeli government, particularly since U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Joseph J. Sisco arrived in Jerusalem last week for further discussions on the moribund Suez peace proposals. The Israelis argue that with the Arab world in turmoil, this is no time to sign a peace agreement with Egypt. Sadat reinforced these arguments by delivering a militant speech promising to break the impasse before the end of this year with "political and military" steps and expressing his willingness to sacrifice 1,000,000 men in the effort.

If Sisco is not likely to get anywhere with his peace proposals, neither are the Israelis with their request for up to 50 more U.S.-built Phantom jets. Washington fears a fresh arms delivery would wreck any chance of a Suez settlement. As one U.S. official said last week, the Suez proposals are "the one remaining diplomatic thread" in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

CPYRGHT

TIME

9 August 1971

## Arabs v. Communists: Thanks But No Thanks

**C**AIRO is Moscow's foremost client in the Middle East. Yet during the brief period two weeks ago when it looked as if the Sudan might fall under the control of a pro-Communist regime, Egypt's leaders moved swiftly to prevent that from happening. They airlifted some 2,000 Sudanese troops from positions along the Suez Canal to Khartoum to ensure the success of General Numeiry's countercoup, flying them there in Soviet-supplied Antonov transports. According to a Cabinet Minister from neighboring Libya, both Egypt and Libya were preparing to intervene if the countercoup failed.

Thus, once again, a seemingly paradoxical fact was underlined: although the Soviet Union enjoys growing influence in the Arab world, there is strong and sometimes savage resistance toward local Communism. The Soviets have supplied billions in aid to "revolutionary" Arab governments. They have received lavish expressions of friendship as well as vital military facilities in return. But they have never been able to install a pro-Communist regime in the area. There are Baathist radicals in Syria and Iraq, and Socialists in Algeria, Egypt, Libya and southern Yemen. But Communists in power? Not a one.

That has been true from the first. In the early 1920s, Moscow was on excellent terms with Turkey's Kemal Atatürk. But this did not prevent Atatürk from killing off the leading Communists in his country. Egypt's late Gamal Abdel Nasser accepted Soviet money, advice and, in some areas, decision-making. But in 1959 he clapped hundreds of Communists into prison. Throughout the Middle East, the Communist Party is legal only in Lebanon—and, ironically, Israel. In Sudan, where it is technically banned but has operated openly, its continued existence is now threatened.

Superficially, most Arab states look like perfect targets for Marxist-Leninist exploitation. They have been in a state of constant upheaval for most of this century. They are desperately poor. They are alienated from the West. Having

failed to wrest victory from Israel, they have become alarmingly dependent on Soviet military help. Yet the region is not sufficiently industrialized to support a classic, Russian-style proletarian uprising, and the illiterate, fatalistic fellahin of the villages are too conservative, too steeped in the concepts of familial loyalty and the Islamic faith to become conscripts in a Maoist peasant revolt.

"What is happening in the Arab world," former U.S. Ambassador to Cairo Raymond Hare explains, "is not a revolution but a revulsion." It is a revulsion against foreign domination, whether cultural, economic or political—and even unsophisticated Arabs recognize that Communism is a foreign import. Arabs still dream of the time, twelve centuries ago, when their forebears dominated a vast sweep of Europe, from the banks of the Indus to the valley of the Loire. They might use Communist help in hopes of restoring that glorious past, but they are not likely to accept Communist suzerainty.

In recent years, a seemingly endless round of Arab military coups has produced major changes in the power structure at the top level of many countries. But the social structure has remained virtually intact. It is a conservative structure, rooted in the family and the tribe. Nationhood is a more recent concept and still an uncomfortable one; the Arab had long been accustomed to thinking smaller (the family) or larger (the Arab world, a supranational notion).

Politically, the Arabs do not accept even the concept of multiparty government. In most Middle East nations, there is no room for a loyal opposition; the terms are mutually contradictory in a society where "the enemy of my enemy is my friend." The idea of an opposition party committed to Moscow rather than Cairo or Tripoli or Khartoum is totally unacceptable.

So far, the type of government that Arabs seem to feel most comfortable with is an autocratic one, preferably military. "Arab politics," comments Lebanese Political Scientist Elie Salem, "has

always ridden on horseback. Salvation is expected from the army." Having saved a country, the army is loath to share power. Even if the rebellious officers had won in the Sudan two weeks ago, outside observers believe, they would soon have turned on the Communists who gave them support.

Looking at "the dysfunctioning of Arab society," Beirut Social Psychologist Halim Barakat says: "Men alienated from established orders have alternatives." Barakat suggests three alternatives—revolution, withdrawal and resignation—and notes that only the second and third are acceptable in Arab culture. Revolution against a government is one thing; against the traditional structure of society, it is quite another.

Islam has much to do with such attitudes. Religion alone is not strong enough to withstand Communism if other conditions are right; Catholic Cuba and Confucianist China demonstrated that. But Islam has a permeating discipline in Arab culture that shapes politics and unites even dissident leaders like Libya's Gaddafi and Saudi Arabia's King Feisal. Gaddafi subscribes to the same simplistic explanation of the new order offered by Nasser before his death: "The reason that Arab socialism is different from Communism is because our socialism believes in God while Communism is atheistic."

Every day 90 million Arabs intone the word *inshallah*—God willing. It is Allah who will reform society, not a Brezhnev or a Mao, and the typical Arab has little enthusiasm for tinkering with changes himself. A famous Arab expression is "*Bookrah fil mishmish*," which means that the apricots will be blooming tomorrow; it indicates a *mañana* attitude rivaling that of even Latin Americans. In such a culture, Communism has slim chance of succeeding. Understanding this, the Soviet Union up to now has been willing to sacrifice one Arab Communist Party after another in return for broader geopolitical gains. It is a cynical trade-off, but given the attitudes of the Arab world, it is the only deal available to Moscow.

WASHINGTON POST  
25 July 1971

## The Ins and Outs of Sudan

The countercoup in Sudan, returning to power the general who had been kicked out three days earlier, makes it hard to take Sudan very seriously either as a country ready to tackle the misery of its own people or as one capable of bringing influence to bear on the broader regional scene. Ostensibly, the man who is back in, General Nimeri, leaned to Egypt and the officers who are now out (some were quickly executed) leaned to communism. But actually it seems gratuitous to ascribe much importance to any public positions taken in Khartoum.

Politics there consists of the maneuvers of a few people, a good many of them evidently manipulated from the outside. It is the curse of many poor countries suddenly overtaken by the pressures and anxieties of the 20th century that they cannot field a real "government" in the sense of an apparatus that reaches throughout the country and tries to get things done. Sudan, with 15 million disparate citizens scattered over an immense million-square-mile territory, suffers from that curse more than most.

Libya's role in restoring General Nimeri to office is more interesting than the restoration. Unlike Sudan, Libya has a very small population, immense oil reserves and revenues, and a strategic location; these differences explain why it cannot be ignored.

Its 30-year-old ruler, Colonel Qadhafi, a passionate pan-Arabist whose hatred of communism rises directly from the Koran, forced down a BOAC airliner carrying two anti-Nimeri leaders back to Khartoum from London, and kidnaped them. The extent of Colonel Qadhafi's other services for his Sudanese protegee can only be guessed. As the late Gamal Nasser demonstrated, pan-Arabism provides good ideological cover for such intervention. At any rate, Libya's success in helping to engineer a change of government in Sudan is certain to raise its prestige in the Arab world, and to heighten its leaders' arrogance, too.

Libya's prestige in the Arab world doubtless will be further raised by its pulling of the British lion's tail in respect to the BOAC plane forced down at Benina airport. Britain quickly protested the act as "outrageous" and "inexcusable." But Britain follows France in its general policy of accommodating the Arab states, where its oil and money are, and currently London is trying to sell more arms to Libya. These considerations probably will prevent its protests from being heeded—or even seriously pressed. In any case, no satisfaction the British might now receive will alter the practical effect of Libya's strong-arm intervention in Sudan, where the ins, who were outs for a day or so, are ins again—and all the real problems remain.

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NEW YORK TIMES  
28 July 1971

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## The Lessons of Khartoum

A Soviet scholar described the Arab world to a group of visiting Americans last year as "a very large area close to our borders which cannot be controlled by any power."

Events of the last few days in the Sudan should bring home the wisdom of that observation to policymakers in the Kremlin who appear once more to have allowed their ideological ambitions corrupt their political judgment. General Nimeiry's harsh crackdown on local Communists suspected of masterminding, from the Bulgarian Embassy, last week's military coup in Khartoum casts a shadow over Soviet ambitions not only in the Sudan but throughout the Arab world.

The abrupt suspension of the public trial of Abdel Khaliq Mahgoub yesterday after a prosecution witness refused to confirm charges against the Communist party chief may deprive the world of any clear evidence of Communist collusion in the Khartoum coup. It is in fact barely possible that the Sudanese Communists and their Soviet friends were actually innocent, though of course interested bystanders in another of the Sudan's political upheavals.

But the vehemence of General Nimeiry's reaction, and the strong support he has received from Cairo and Tripoli, indicate the depth of anti-Communist feeling even among Arab leaders who have been labeled as "progressive" in Soviet terminology. Intimations of subversion in the Khartoum affair, following on the heels of the recent attempted takeover in Cairo by pro-Soviet elements, should impel General Nimeiry, President Sadat and other Arab leaders to re-examine the "fraternal contacts" with the Soviet Union which have inundated their countries with Soviet aid and advisers under the deceptive guise of anti-imperialist (Israel) solidarity.

The Russians in turn should recognize the limitations that Islamic tradition and modern Arab nationalism place on any attempt to forge Soviet hegemony throughout the Middle East in the fires of the Arab-Israeli conflict. A legitimate Soviet interest in the stability of this "very large area close to our borders" would better be served by policies promoting peace between the Arabs and the Jewish state and by peaceful social and political evolution in the tumultuous Arab states.

CPYRGHT

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR  
28 July 1971

## Communism and the Arab world

Sudan's coup and countercoup and the resulting anti-Communist witch-hunt point up once again the fact that communism has only a very limited ideological base in the Arab Muslim world.

Small Communist parties exist but most of them have to operate clandestinely. Some of the leading so-called Arab radical countries, such as Egypt and Algeria, accept massive military and economic aid from Communist Russia and the presence of hundreds — in Egypt's case thousands — of Soviet advisers, but they do not want communism operating as a political force within their borders.

Hitherto the Sudanese Communist Party has been one of the strongest and most active in the Arab world drawing considerable support from intellectuals and trade unions. Now the reinstated President Nimeiry is rounding up both Communists and suspected Communists mercilessly in the aftermath of the short-lived coup.

President Nimeiry's massive retribution has brought forth an angry condemnation from Soviet Russia, which has given Sudan considerable aid, both military and economic, with the usual accompaniment of advisers and technicians.

Some observers believe the military officers who led the coup were prompted as much, if not more, by strongly nationalistic and anti-Egyptian feelings as by leftist leanings. But they certainly had Communist support and, had the coup succeeded, Sudan would have become the first Arab country to have a Communist-oriented government.

This danger explains why Libya's young

revolutionary leader, the strongly anti-Communist Colonel al-Qaddafi, intervened directly in the Sudanese crisis and kidnapped two of the rebel leaders from a British airliner.

President Nimeiry appears to enjoy considerable popular support although he has no broad political power base in Sudan. Last year he crushed what was said to have been an attempted coup by the Ansar, one of the country's two great Muslim sects — the Ansar's religious leader, Imam al-Hadi al-Mahdi, was killed in the fighting. This action alienated a large section of traditional, conservative opinion from Nimeiry. The result has been that he has had no effective counterweight on the right to balance the leftist forces which staged last week's putsch. And it helps to explain why he has dealt so harshly with the leftists now and why he has turned to Egypt for support.

Hitherto Nimeiry has resisted pressure on him to join the planned political federation of Egypt, Libya and Syria, but he may feel compelled to go into the club now since both Egypt and Libya have helped him over the crisis, even though this would complicate still more his already tenuous relations with the non-Arab southern Sudan.

In the current context the dilemma for Soviet Russia is an acute one. To maintain its present gains in the Middle East it must continue to back Arab revolutionary regimes which are essentially anti-Communist. For interests of big power policy, it thus finds itself obliged to stand by and watch while loyal pro-Moscow Communists pay with their lives for their part in the abortive Sudanese revolt.

NEW YORK TIMES  
28 July 1971

# Arab Unity: The Elusive Dream

CPYRGHT

## New Effort Toward Goal Seen Since Coup in Sudan

By **RAYMOND H. ANDERSON**

Special to The New York Times

CAIRO, July 27—A dream of uniting the Arabs from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf has long been a guiding mystique of Arab intellectuals, yearning for the lost grandeur of Arabic civilization a thousand years ago.

Seldom, however, has the mystique of Arab unity looked so hollow, and recent events in

News the Arab world Analysis have underscored the impression that absolute unity

of the 100 million Arabs is probably an unrealizable objective.

For modern political leaders, such as the late President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Arab unity has been viewed largely as a weapon to regain Arab dignity and power after long domination and division by foreign conquerors.

Efforts toward such unity may have been renewed following last week's Communist-oriented coup d'état in the Sudan, crushed within 72 hours, in order to provide common defense against a new intruder in the region—Communist ideology.

Last Friday, President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt deplored the "complete disintegration" of Arab unity and underlined the complaint by accusing King Hussein of Jordan of deceit in starting a military offensive against Palestinian guerrillas while at the same time voicing assurances of abiding by agreements for a coexistence between the Jordanian authorities and the guerrillas.

But in the same speech, Mr. Sadat praised one of the rare instances of effective Arab cooperation, the concerted action of Egyptians, Libyans and Sudanese to oust the Com-

munist rebels in Khartoum.

### Spearhead of Assault

In a swift and well-executed operation, aircraft of Libya and Egypt flew Sudanese troops from the Suez Canal front to a base outside Khartoum. The troops spearheaded an assault that routed the rebels and restored Premier Gaafar al-Nimeiry to power.

The success of this action cast a new light on the projected federation of Egypt, Libya and Syria in September, which General Nimeiry has vowed to join in January.

The federation's statutes provide for intervention against disorders and uprisings in any of the member countries, a threat that can be expected to cool the ardor of dissidents to seize power. The swift executions of the leaders of the coup in the Sudan have demonstrated the penalties of failure.

Unity of Arabs to combat Communism was stressed over the weekend by the Libyan Minister of Interior, Maj. Kuweildi Hamidi.

"The Sudanese mutineers are traitors and agents of Peking and Moscow, and this is the case of Communists all over the Arab world," he said. "Arabs must dedicate their sincerity and loyalty to the Arab nation and not import ideologies such as Communism."

This was perhaps one of the few utterances by a member of the Libyan revolutionary regime, which deposed King Idris nearly two years ago, that could be approvingly echoed by King Faisal of Saudi Arabia and other Arab kings and sheiks.

The major pitfall for Communists in the Arab world is a strong nationalism and abhorrence of falling subservient to a Communist power. Arab Communists have become victims of

this at intervals in Egypt, Algeria, Iraq, Syria and, most recently, the Sudan.

Communists also stir hostility and suspicion among Arabs by their espousal of atheism. Beyond that, Communism is looked upon with dread by most middle-class Arabs, fearful of seizures of land, villas and shops.

The Arab-Socialism founded by Mr. Nasser and adhered to by Mr. Sadat, Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi of Libya and Premier Nimeiry proclaims fealty to Islam, condemns class warfare and guarantees rights to personal property and a private sector in the economy.

True unity has proved impossible to achieve among 14 Arab League countries with extreme contrasts in wealth and development and with some, such as Saudi Arabia, under virtually feudal monarchies and others, such as Egypt and Libya, ruled by revolutionaries proclaiming Socialism as their objective.

### One Area of Agreement

The one area of agreement among them has been hostility to Israel. But some are more hostile than others and the Arabs have been divided on tactics and objectives in the struggle. Militant countries such as Iraq still shout slogans about destroying Israel, but others, including Egypt and Jordan, acknowledge that a recovery of lands lost to Israel in the 1967 war and a settlement for Palestinian refugees represent the only feasible objectives.

The Egyptian-Israeli ceasefire that took effect last August, halting Cairo's costly "war of attrition," appears to have weakened even the overall unity in spirit, allowing a resurgence of old grievances and differences among Arabs.

Outspoken acclaim by Libyans of an army group's attempt on July 10 to overthrow King Hassan-II of Morocco led to mutual recriminations and an apparent break in relations.

The Baathist party regime in Iraq, shunned by most Arabs, isolated itself even further by withdrawing its embassy staff in Jordan and closing the frontier, ostensibly in anger over King Hussein's drive against the guerrillas.

A few days later, after Premier Nimeiry had regained power, the Sudan broke relations with Iraq and accused the Iraqi leadership of complicity in the coup.

Sunday, Syria also closed her border with Jordan, creating an uneasy situation for the country by cutting off land access to the Mediterranean.

In deploring the absence of Arab unity, President Sadat warned last Friday, "If we do not gather ourselves together, we shall never be able to face the ferocious drive by the Zionists." He was addressing the national congress of the Arab Socialist Union, Egypt's only political organization.

### Differences Are Deep

Arab unity, in fact, has been increasingly elusive since the late nineteen-fifties, and the proud name of Egypt is being formally restored after 13 years during which the country has been known as the United Arab Republic.

The gap between Arabs on a political level was illustrated by the shocked reaction of the austere young Libyan leader, Colonel Qaddafi, at a conference of Arab leaders in Rabat when he saw Moroccan generals and Cabinet ministers kissing the hand of King Hassan.

"Good God," he was reported to have exclaimed, "does such a thing still exist in the Arab world, this kissing of hands in such humility and submission?"



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HINDUSTAN TIMES  
29 July 1971

# The Communists in Sudan

By Hari Sharan Chhabra

AMONG the 20-odd independent countries of Africa, Sudan has the unique distinction of having a full-fledged and well-organized Communist Party. Communists have been in power circles in the Sudan, at least twice, but the recent short-lived coup was the first time that they came close to setting up the first Communist state on African soil. (The rulers of tiny Congo-Brazzaville on the west coast of Africa do call themselves Leninist-Marxist, but they have their own brand of Communism and in any case there is no Communist Party in existence there.)

The Communist coup of July 20 in Sudan did not last long, but it proved beyond doubt that the Communist Party is a powerful force in the country. It took Major Hashem al-Atta, the pro-Communist army officer who seized power from Gen. Numeiri, about 20 minutes to complete the whole process of the bloodless coup. And this he did with his two closest colleagues, Col. Hashim al-Nur and Major Fawzi Omdh Hamadallah, were away from Sudan. The coup followed in four days because, perhaps, the Communist authors did not take adequate precautions. Another indication of Communist strength is available from the fact that the secretary general of the party, Mr. Mahgoub Abdel Khalik, was able to escape from jail early this month.

## The Truth

It seems surprising that this escape could be successfully organized during Gen. al Numeiri's military regime, which was authoritarian and kept a strict watch on Communist internees. Mr. Khalik obviously scaled the prison wall with the help of some

officers of the prison. Gen. al Numeiri should have guessed from this that the Communists were up against his regime. There is undoubtedly a close association between Mr. Khalik's escape and the abortive coup.

The truth is that when Gen. al Numeiri dismissed Major al Atta, Col. al Nur and Major Hamadallah from the Cabinet last November, and mobilised about a dozen army officers for their pro-Communist leanings, he did not realize the extent of Communist infiltration in the army. Exact figures are not available, but it is said that at least 250 officers in the Sudanese army are card-holding members of the party, while quite a few thousand soldiers in the 28,000-man army have often expressed their loyalty to the Marxist ideology.

## Strong Base

The Communist Party of Sudan was born in 1945, when Mr. Khalik, Mr. Ahmed Suleman and other graduates returned home after their education in Cairo. They were already members of the Central Committee of the Egyptian Communist Party. In the earlier years, a great deal of Communist literature flooded into Sudan from Egypt. The party, with its headquarters in Khartoum, built up a full cadre, but remained underground. The Communists found fertile ground in Sudan, because of the country's poverty, the existence of a feudal society, the concentration of political power in the hands of religious sects and rigid Western monopolistic control over the Sudanese economy. The party was able to make inroads in urban as well as rural areas.

In 1952, the Communist Party split on the question of co-operation with other parties in the country. Mr. Khalik, a diehard

Communist, was strongly opposed to co-operation with any bourgeois party, and favoured the formation of a national front composed of all progressive forces. The party has remained divided till today, although a large majority of the members owe allegiance to Mr. Khalik.

## Four Fronts

With Sudan achieving independence in 1956, the party gained in prestige and membership, but still remained an unofficial party. It had to face a great deal of persecution during Gen. Abboud's military rule from 1953 to 1964.

In spite of many hardships, the party continued to grow among intellectuals, trade unionists and even farmers. At one time it became a fashion for intellectuals to be dubbed Communists. The University of Khartoum became a hotbed of Communism, with no curbs of any kind placed on Communist activity in the campus. (General Numeiri, had, however, ordered the closure of the University early this year because of the uncontrollable agitation by the Communists.)

Four front organisations, the Federation of Labour Trade Unions, the Students' Federation, the Youth League and the Women's League, and a number of leftist organisations like the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation and the Sudan Peace Council, have usually provided the main strength to the Communist Party's growing edifice.

After the overthrow of the Abboud regime in 1964, the Communists shot into prominence and stunned the old orthodox politicians by capturing 11 out of the 15 parliamentary seats reserved for the graduates. The Umma Party and the Unionist Party, which always claimed to represent the middle classes and the

bourgeoisie, received a rude shock when they realized their total isolation from the intelligentsia.

Frustrated by the success of the Communists, the traditional politicians and the Muslim Brotherhood joined hands to meet the Communist challenge. In 1966 the party was banned and its 11 elected members were expelled from Parliament. In 1968 the Sudan Government went to the extent of abolishing the graduate constituencies, which had returned the Communists. Mr. Awadallah, then the Chief Justice, became the hero of the left elements because of his judgment which went against Parliament's encroachment on fundamental rights. He resigned when the Government defied his ruling. He was appointed Prime Minister by Gen. al Numeiri after the May 1969 coup, although, he did not stay long.

## Still There

Gen. al Numeiri also took six Communists in his Cabinet, including Mr. Ahmed Suleman as Industries Minister and Mr. Farouq Abu Issa as Foreign Minister. They all belonged to anti-Khalik group of the Communist Party. He also appointed three army officers, Major al Atta and his two friends, who as Communists supported Mr. Khalik. They had to be dropped when Mr. Khalik started opposing Gen. al Numeiri's regime.

Mr. Khalik was a brilliant intellectual and is highly respected in Sudan and in the pro-Moscow Communist world for his simplicity, devotion and sincerity.

Gen. al Numeiri, now back in power, is from all accounts proposing to crush the Communists in Sudan. But history teaches that an organised Communist movement tends to grow stronger in the face of repression.

THE GUARDIAN, Manchester  
CPYRIGHT 30 July 1971

From Jesse Lewis, in Khartoum, as the Sudan leader meets the press

# Numeiri speaks his mind

SUDAN'S Head of State, General Numeiri, today indirectly accused the Soviet and other Communist newspapers of "disfiguring the news" about the current crackdown and warned that it could lead

to a worsening of Sudanese-Soviet relations if the press attacks continue.

"I do not want any deterioration with the Soviet Union or other Socialist countries. But if they choose to participate in a pro-Communist coup that ousted

"All we did was take action against Sudan's insurrectionists."

In the past week, 14 persons, including the leader of the Sudanese Communist Party, participated in a pro-Communist coup that ousted

Numeiri for three days. More than 1,000 others who, the Government says are Communists, have been arrested.

The crackdown has been condemned by the official Soviet news agency, Tass, and by European



Communist groups. Tass said Numeiri's regime was conducting a campaign of "bloody terror and fanning anti-communism."

"What would you do to people who massacred innocents and mutilated them? What would you do to people who gave instructions to eliminate all under their custody?" Numeiri said, gesturing with his hands while sitting on a deep blue sofa in his office. "The only reason more (bloodshed by the rebels) was not carried out is because some people were deterred by Sudanese morals."

In what was described as an "informal get-together," nine foreign correspondents were invited to Numeiri's office on the spacious and heavily guarded Presidential palace grounds. Last week, it was the scene of heavy fighting.

He spoke in Arabic and an aide translated his replies into English, but Numeiri, who speaks English, did not wait for a translation of the questions. Numeiri was dressed in a dark green

fatigue uniform with the gold insignia of Major General rank on red epaulets.

During the 75-minute session, Numeiri also made these points: King Hussein of Jordan is the leader of a "gang trying to eradicate not only guerrillas but the Palestinian people" and "a King who betrays his people and the Arab nation." But he said he did not favour expelling Jordan from the Arab League as proposed by Libya's leader, Colonel Moammar Gadafy. Avoiding direct comment on the persistent rumours of Soviet involvement in the abortive coup, he said: "I do not know whether the Soviet Union was involved. So far we have no evidence. We are still assembling the facts."

Worsening of relations with the Eastern block would not mean an improvement with the United States, he said. The two countries do not have formal diplomatic relations. The Sudan's attitude "to the United States is influenced by its position towards Israel and that situ-

ation has not changed because of the events in the Sudan," he said.

The press conference was dominated by questions about relations between the Sudan and Russia. Numeiri said that Russian military advisers "are on the verge" of leaving Sudan and that some left before the pro-Communist coup. He did not comment on reports that some Russian advisers have left within the past few days as witnessed by qualified observers.

When asked whether Sudan would break relations with any country that was discovered to have been connected with the coup he replied: "If I tell you (that) from the outset I will have no other alternative. I can say with assurance that relations would deteriorate." How much they deteriorate, he said, would "depend on the size of involvement and the intention."

Several times he said he felt the punishment of the convicted plotters matched what they had done during

their three days in power and during the fighting that followed the counter-coup. Nineteen captive pro-Numeiri officers were reported beaten or shot to death by their guards on orders when the counter-coup began. According to well-placed sources, when Numeiri saw the bodies he made the decision to crush the Communists.

Why did the Soviet Union react so strongly to Sudan's crackdown on Communists and not so intensely against Egypt and Iraq, both of which have banned the party and put many members in goal, Numeiri was asked.

He explained that "a lot of propaganda" for 12 years had portrayed the Sudanese Communist Party as Africa's and the Arab World's largest and most powerful. This was not true, he said. "The influence of the Communist Party is insignificant." Numeiri's judgment is at sharp variance with that of diplomatic analysts.—  
Washington Post.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR  
31 July 1971

CPYRGHT

## Coup snafu

# Sudan stings Soviets

By Charlotte Saikowski  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow

The inability of the Soviet Union to prevent the execution of pro-Moscow Communists in the Sudan, a friendly country, puts a great strain on the Kremlin's ideological credibility in the eyes of the world's Communists.

Particularly is this true with China looking on.

Playing for high political stakes in the Middle East, the Russians are reacting with caution to the tempestuous events in the Sudan.

Predictably, they express public outrage over the execution of 14 reported Communists implicated in the recent abortive coup.

But all indications here are that they will be careful not to cut their lines with the Sudanese Government and jeopardize their relations with the United Arab Republic.

Sudan in turn reports that there is nothing to indicate that the Soviet Union was involved directly or indirectly in the short-lived take-over by the pro-Communist rebels.

The Soviet Union's position is awkward, nevertheless.

On the one hand, it is confronted with a situation in which Communists tried to overthrow a radical Arab regime that has good relations with the Soviet Union and which Moscow has identified as "progressive." This is seen to be embarrassing for the Russians, who have assiduously tried to establish an image of being a fruitful partner with whom small nations can cooperate. The Soviet Union was in fact the Sudan's main source of arms and aid since President Jaafar al-Numeiry came to power in 1969.

### Selling job in order

As diplomatic observers see it, the coup attempt is likely to deepen Arab suspicions and detract from the Russians' posture in the Middle East. In this context, they feel, the Soviet Union needs to convince its Arab clients that it is not promoting Communist revolutions.

On the other hand, the Soviet leadership must try to maintain its ideological credibility in the world Communist camp. Hence, given the execution of a Communist Party leader, a Lenin Prize winner, and other Sudanese Communists, and taking into account the Sudanese Government's stated goal of ruling out the party, Moscow can hardly do less than show its deep dis-

the Sudanese events  
ent newspaper Izves-  
tia July 30 and the party organ Pravda July  
30 seems to reflect Moscow's cautious ap-  
proach and the frustrating position in which  
it now finds itself. It is signed simply "Ob-  
server," indicating it reflects high-level  
thinking.

### 'Noninterference, but—'

The article states that the Soviet Union

strictly observes a "policy of noninterference" in the internal affairs of other states. But, it warns, the Soviet people are not indifferent to the fate of the Sudanese Communists and "no one should have any illusions in this respect."

It adds: "This is why the statements of certain Sudanese leaders that the reprisals against the Communists will not influence the close relations between the Sudan and the Soviet Union sound strange."

But there is no mention of how relations might be affected.

### No attack by name

Reflecting Moscow's concern about the impact of the attempted Communist coup on Arab thinking, the article assails "Western imperialist circles" for allegedly charging that the Soviet Union directed and supported the coup. Such charges, it says, are "false and slanderous" and are aimed at justifying the "brutal repressions" and at fanning "anti-Sovietism" in the Arab world.

In an apparent effort to forestall further repression, the article also noted that the numerous calls of Soviet leaders to the Sudanese authorities to refrain from extreme measures "went unheeded."

CPYRGHT THE ECONOMIST  
31 July 1971

## The vengeance of Numeiry

General Numeiry's vengeance on those who tried to remove him from the leadership of Sudan has been swift and merciless. Within five days of being restored to power by units of the Sudanese forces which refused to follow Major Hachim el Atta, the president, had signed the death warrants of 14 men. They were executed immediately. The first to be shot were Major Atta and the officers who led the coup on July 19th. Then, despite a strong plea for clemency by the British government, Colonel Babikir el Nour and Major Farouk Hamadallah, met the same fate.

Both men had been in London when Major Atta struck. They were kidnapped when the BOAC plane taking them back to Khartoum to lead the new government was forced to land in Libya. Colonel Qaddafi, the Libyan president, then sent them on to General Numeiry and certain death. But even then the killing was not over. The leaders of the Sudanese communist party were the next victims. After hasty and secret trials by military

tribunals Abdel Khalik Mahjoub, the party's secretary-general, Shafi Ahmed el Sheikh, leader of the Sudanese federation of trade unions, and Joseph Garang, minister for southern affairs in General Numeiry's government, were put to death; another leading communist, Dr Mustapha el Khogly, who would probably have been prime minister in Colonel Nour's government, was sent to prison for life. And the trials are to continue.

General Numeiry's ruthlessness and the cruel cat-and-mouse game he played with Colonel Nour and Mr Mahjoub when he had them brought to his office for a personal confrontation in front of the cameras have not enhanced his reputation at home or abroad. Many Sudanese who are not unhappy to witness this sharp setback to the influence of the Communists have expressed their shock at the president's behaviour. No evidence has yet been produced that the Sudanese communist leaders actively organized the attempt to overthrow General Numeiry, the chief prosecution

witness at Mr Mahjoub's trial, who was supposed to provide the proofs in fact denied that they did.

All that is certain is that General Numeiry had been gradually moving to cut down the communists' strength. Had the coup against him succeeded the party and its affiliated organisations would have greatly increased their influence in Sudan. But now the president has been given the excuse and the opportunity to eliminate the party and its leaders. The most surprising aspect of last week's events is that Major Atta found enough support in the army to come close to success in taking over the country. The Sudanese army officers had been putting the strongest pressure on General Numeiry to tackle the communists. He is back in power because the army considers him to be the best president it has. He will be more than ever its prisoner.

General Numeiry has not only embarrassed his own people, he has also put his friends in Moscow in the most uncomfortable position. Russia has become deeply involved in Sudan's

military and economic affairs. Almost 75 per cent of its military equipment has been supplied by the Soviet Union, up to 1,000 Russians are in Sudan training the Sudanese forces in its use and others are there as economic advisers. Although the Soviet government has shut its eyes to the banning of the communist parties in Egypt, Syria and Iraq and the imprisonment and even the execution of Arab communist leaders in the interest of retaining its influence in the Middle East and throughout the Arab world, it ~~can~~ not overlook the fate of such well-known figures in world communist circles as Mr Mahjoub and Mr Shafiel Sheikh. So Tass, the Soviet news agency, issued a strong denunciation of General Numeiry's action, branding it as "bloody terror" an "anti-communist hysteria." But General Numeiry knows that Russia is hardly likely to

sacrifice all it has gained in the Middle East by interfering further in Sudanese affairs, and thus antagonising the Egyptian, Syrian and Libyan leaders.

The one certain result of General Numeiry's return to power and his purge of his opponents is that he will now move as quickly as he can to join Egypt, Syria and Libya in their proposed federation. It seems that both Libya and Egypt were preparing to intervene against Major Atta's apparently successful coup. Colonel Qaddafi's action in kidnapping Colonel Nour was a factor in the success of the counter-coup, but it was not decisive. However, when the proposed federation comes into effect member countries will be empowered to take action to restore any government that is overthrown by an internal revolt. This provides another reason for General Numeiry to join the club.

CPYRGHT NEW YORK TIMES  
1 August 1971

## The Sudan: Biting The Red Hand That Feeds You

**KHARTOUM, The Sudan—**Bodyguards dangled sub-machineguns in the anterooms, and in his office the Sudan's strong man, Maj. Gen. Gaafar al-Nimeiry, glanced down at his bare, muscular forearms from time to time as if for reassurance.

"What would you do with men who massacre people and mutilate them?" he asked his visitors. "What would you do with those who give instructions to eliminate prisoners? What would you do with those who are sorry to see me alive?"

The general, who is the Sudan's President, answered his own questions last week. His men executed 14 alleged leaders of the previous week's abortive leftwing coup—frustrated by a countercoup that brought General Nimeiry back to power. And, as one by one Sudanese Communist and left-wing leaders fell before firing squads or twitched in the hangman's noose, a protest

of protest rose from Moscow and other East bloc capitals.

In this vast, rough nation, the largest in Africa, the executions did simplify General Nimeiry's security situation in the short run, and they seemed to strengthen his hand. But in a larger sense they were merely symptomatic of the political instability that is as endemic here as the dust storm and the fly. Already Khartoum wags are speculating in jest about a counter countercoup, and the powerful Sudanese Communist Party is reported to have distributed pamphlets threatening death to the general and his regime.

To be sure, the general tried to sugarcoat his political reprisals. Two score journalists were taken to the Shagara military camp south of here to watch the trial of Abdel Khalek Mahgoub, the head of the Communist party.

Aides to General Nimeiry claimed that the party's central committee had been the coup's architect and that Mr. Mahgoub had been its mastermind. The Communist party chief was said to have passed on and discussed coup ideas with the leftist army officers—Lieut. Col. Babakr al-Nur Osman, Maj. Farouk Osman Hamadallah and Maj. Hashem al-Ata—who actually mounted the coup and have now been executed. That claim appears to lie at the basis of General Nimeiry's decision to stamp out the Com-

munist party leadership at the risk of a break with Moscow.

Mr. Mahgoub, however, insisted before his death that he had no knowledge of the coup before it was mounted. Some independent observers here think he got wind of it while it was in the planning stage and decided to get on the bandwagon.

Mr. Mahgoub was no angel: stories of his high living fill the bazaars here. Yet he enjoyed wide fame in the East bloc as a regular at international Communist jamborees. And so the Nimeiry regime threw open the proceedings to prove that he was not being done away with after a drumhead trial.

And yet the exercise failed. The prosecution's main witness balked. Mr. Mahgoub protested his innocence. Rough and ready Sudanese officers kicked the journalists out of the courtroom when they tried to speak to the defendant, after the session was adjourned.

Within hours Mr. Mahgoub was hanged—in private.

General Nimeiry and his Revolutionary Command Council had their reasons for seeking to stamp out the Sudanese Communist party and its leader. Although it was technically illegal, and although its hard-core membership is generally estimated at not more than 5,000, it has been influential with the armed forces and the Sudanese political elite, despite the country's old

Islamic traditions.

In killing Mr. Mahgoub and the other left-wing leaders, General Nimeiry ran the risk that the Soviet bloc might reduce its aid and encourage future left-wing opponents of his regime. Without outside aid the general would be hard put to combat his country's great problems of poverty and the societal split between the Arab north and the black south.

Soviet economic aid has amounted to more than \$20-million in recent years. (American economic aid was cut off after the break in diplomatic relations between Khartoum and Washington that followed the outbreak of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war.) Soviet military aid is very extensive; it ranges from providing technicians to tend helicopters used in fighting the black rebels in the south to providing anti-aircraft missiles at Port Sudan.

This has not deterred Moscow from protesting loudly against General Nimeiry's crackdown on the Communist party.

Greed for power rather than differences over how to cure the Sudan's ills underlay the coup and the countercoup. But the combination of poverty and social divisions and the climate of violence provide fine tinder for any future attempts by power-hungry men to overthrow a regime that itself seized power only two years ago.

LINK, New Delhi  
25 July 1971

## SUDAN

# Communists Take-over

**T**HE successful coup staged by Major Hashim al Atta against the Government of Gen Abdel Numeiri will affect not only Sudan but also the Arab world and Africa. It is the first attempt by a Communist Party in the region to take direct control of Government with the help of a section of the army. In Sudan, in fact, the party had its secret wing in the armed forces. In his broadcast to the nation, Atta promised radical social and economic reforms and a battle against the local and foreign capitalists who were trying to disrupt the economy. He accused Gen Numeiri of imposing an autocratic rule on the country and deviating from the true path of the May 1969 revolution which overthrew the reactionary regime of Mohammed Ahmed Mahjoub.

Major Atta was not in Khartoum when Numeiri took over power two years ago. He was Sudan's Military attache in West Germany but Numeiri had no alternative but to include him and three of his leftist colleagues in the Government. He had in fact come to power with the active help of the Communist Party and his first Council of Ministers included nearly eight prominent leftists.

**CONFEDERATION:** But the breach between Atta and Numeiri came when Numeiri decided to join the proposed confederation composed of Egypt, Libya and Syria. This he did at the persuasion of Nasser whom Numeiri admired as a great liberator and friend of Sudan. Gen Numeiri was an able, courageous and nationalist officer but he lacked political awareness and failed to recognise the mood of his people, particularly the leftist elements who wield enormous influence on the masses. The leftists had built him up as a mass leader and persuaded him to adopt socialist and radical measures and also to move closer to the socialist countries. The Soviet Union is held in great respect in Sudan because of its constant support to the Arab's fight against Zionist expansionism and its policy to help the developing countries. Sudan's army has been rebuilt with the assistance of the Soviet Union

which has also trained a large number of its officers in modern warfare. Numeiri did maintain excellent relations with the socialist countries but he tried to emulate Nasser in his domestic policies which proved his undoing. He thought his friendship with Cairo and Moscow had proved his position as a socialist, and thus he was free to curb the real leftist elements in his country. The difference between him and Nasser was that while the Egyptian revolution was entirely Nasser's own, Numeiri owed a great deal to the local Communist Party.

**COMMUNIST PARTY:** Sudanese Communist Party is the largest and most well-organised leftist force in whole Africa and the Arab world. It began functioning secretly in the early forties when no other organised political activity was allowed in the country by the British. It first won over some of the best intellectuals, most of whom were teachers, doctors and lawyers. Then it spread among the students, youth, workers and peasants. Khartoum University, which was the only centre of higher education until recently, became the centre of its activities where the only other organised force it faced was the Muslim Brotherhood. After independence the party, though illegal, claimed a tightly knit organisations of peasants, workers, students and youth. For a number of years they have been a power to reckon with.

**DISCORD:** Maj. Atta, Maj. Babikr Noor and Maj. Gen. Farooq Hamdalla who are now in power, were the main link between the party and the army. They had joined Numeiri's Government when he came to power in May 1969. Atta was, then in West Germany, flew to Khartoum a few days after the 1969 coup. Gen. Numeiri, who also included in his Council of Ministers seven well-known leftists, refused to be guided by the political leadership of the Communist Party. This went against Mahjoub's original thesis, in which despite the army's predominant position in the Government the leadership had to be retained by the PB and the Central Committee. The three officers who now rule Sudan

remained true to Mahjoub's thesis. Numeiri's efforts to create a split in the party leadership by giving important positions to some opportunist leftists also failed, and he was alienated from the party. The final breach came when Numeiri insisted on joining the proposed confederation.

Mahjoub argued against Sudan's entry into a larger group of countries whose political and economic policies clashed with its own, and where open leftist activity is not only banned but considered a crime. Mahjoub feared that his party may lose its identity and influence if Sudan became a unit of the confederation. The three officers, at his instance, opposed Numeiri in his move and in turn were forced by him to quit the Government. This brought the Communist and non-leftist factions of the army into an open clash. Numeiri banned all leftist activities and arrested a large number of Communists, including Abdel Khaliq Mahjoub. He declared that he would "crush and destroy" them if they blocked Sudan joining the confederation. As Numeiri lost his balance, Khartoum buzzed with rumours about the possibility of a Communist take-over.

**JAIL-BREAK:** Two weeks before Atta's coup, Mahjoub escaped from the well-guarded Kobar jail on the bank of the Blue Nile facing Khartoum. The jailers and police officers detailed to watch him also escaped. That showed the party's influence on the police. Despite a countrywide hunt by Numeiri's intelligence service, Mahjoub could not be traced. He was only in Omdurman, a few furlongs away from Numeiri's presidential palace. And Atta and his colleague kept in touch with him. Mahjoub, who is commonly referred to as the Lenin of Sudan, has thus become the architect of the first Communist Government in Sudan.

Both Noor and Atta, who form an effective team, have promised radical transformation of the country's economy and a more militant foreign policy. It is obvious that political equations in inter-Arab politics will undergo a change.

WASHINGTON STAR  
2 August 1971

## Moscow's Problem

Sudan has never taken too kindly to conquerors and colonialists. The Egyptians moved in in 1822 and hung on for some 60 years until they and their British partners in conquest were ousted by Muhammed Ahmed, the fabled Mahdi. At the turn of the century, British-Egyptian rule was restored for 53 uneasy years, when by mutual agreement Sudan was set free.

During the 60s, the Soviets took over, not with troops but with aid and influence. Now the brief honeymoon is at an end and Khartoum has recalled its ambassador from Moscow. It's Moscow's turn to learn how readily Khartoum will bite the foreign hand that feeds it.

Two weeks ago, everything seemed to be going Moscow's way. A coup, headed by Sudanese Communists, ousted the prime minister, Major General Jaafar Numeiri. Some 72 hours later Numeiri was back, the Sudanese Communists were jailed, the trials for treason were held and the executions began. The Soviets, who had held their peace when Egypt's Sadat put down an earlier pro-

Moscow revolt against him, let out a bellow of diplomatic rage.

The Sudanese leader, Moscow said, was involved in a "bloody reign of terror." Unless the anti-Communist activity stopped, the Soviets warned, aid would be cut off and diplomatic relations broken.

Whatever result Moscow anticipated from its angry warning, it could not have been what it got. Numeiri, in an interview with a correspondent of the London Observer, expressed his belief in Moscow's complicity in the abortive coup and revealed that he had given the Russian ambassador an ultimatum. The "false and unfounded" attacks on his regime were to stop, he said, or he would take "necessary steps to restore the dignity and prestige" of Sudan and its people. And he meant it. Numeiri has announced that his ambassadors to Russia and Bulgaria are being called home and that top diplomats from those two countries are to leave Sudan.

The scope of the Russian miscalculation extends well beyond the borders of Sudan. Egypt and Libya were prepared to intervene in Numeiri's behalf

after the coup. Both governments have been prompt and effusive in their congratulations at his success in ousting the conspirators. There is renewed speculation that Sudan will join the Arab Federation with Egypt, Syria and Libya—a federation that the Soviet Union has, until now, given strong support.

It appears likely that, in the end, the Soviets will swallow their anger and maintain their ties with Sudan. The alternative is to place in extreme jeopardy their influence throughout the Middle East. The fruits of two decades of energetic and successful diplomacy is too high a price for them to pay to extract a suitable reprisal for the deaths of 14 Sudanese Communists.

Whatever the Soviets do, it is unlikely that the West—and particularly the United States—will inherit any immediate benefits. The most we can derive from Moscow's problem is a sense of relief that it is they, not we, who have to deal with the Sudanese, and a realization that Moscow's hold on the Arab countries is not nearly as secure as we or the Kremlin leaders believed it to be.

WASHINGTON POST  
4 August 1971

## The Kremlin Comes a Cropper

The inner contradiction of Moscow's Mideast policy—its effort to support "anti-imperialist" local governments and, at the same time, the local Communists challenging those governments—has ripened with a vengeance in Sudan. There the Soviet Union had made an important investment in General Nimeri, giving him not only arms and some economic aid but advice if not direct support in his campaign to suppress black rebels in the south. But then the Sudanese Communist Party, reportedly in cahoots with Soviet operatives in Khartoum, essayed a coup against General Nimeri, and he in suppressing the coup executed a number of party leaders, including a Lenin Prize winner. To keep faith with the local brothers, the Kremlin protested. Understandably, the general took umbrage. Official Soviet-Sudanese relations are un-

raveling and the future of the Soviet investment is, at best, clouded.

To be sure, for a great power Sudan is not what you'd call a great prize. It's huge but poor and the British, in arbitrarily wrapping its borders around blacks as well as Arabs, built in an abscess which has steadily drained away what potential for development the country may have. Its "loss" by Moscow, if it comes to that, would be small alongside the Soviet "loss" of Indonesia in 1965. Still, the Soviet-Sudanese affair cannot fail to reverberate throughout the Arab world. Already, to Moscow's deep embarrassment, it has brought into bold relief the Communist aspect of Soviet policy which Moscow has sought to keep subdued, as opposed to the anti-American aspect on which the Soviet thrust for influence in the region has been

based. One result is to give fresh currency to denunciations of communism which have emanated from Libya, these days the most determinedly anti-Communist of Arab states. Another result is to complicate Soviet ties with its principal Arab ally, Egypt, which not only saluted General Nimeri's restoration to power but actually joined Libya in providing planes to carry Sudanese soldiers from Suez to Khartoum to help out with the restoration.

To a great power, involved in what it regards as a crucial surge for position across a whole region, no single setback in a place as peripheral as Sudan can be disabling, disagreeable as it may be. One of the hallmarks of great powers is a capacity to lose big hands and stay in the game. The resources, if not the ego, of such states spare them the les-

sions from local disaster that less well endowed and less ambitious states are compelled to draw. Therefore to expect Moscow to conclude that radical Arab regimes are too unstable and ungrateful to be worth supporting further is to ignore a long record, American as well as Soviet, that goes in the opposite direction.

To expect other Arab states to conclude that Soviet support is too risky ideologically and politically to be worth accepting is equally illusory. For needs and reasons of their own, countries like Egypt and Syria feel competent to ride the Communist tiger. They will hardly alter their views merely because General Nimeri fell off the tiger's back and spent three days in its belly before he got out. But Egyptians and Syrians will ride a bit more warily, you can be sure of that.

## CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

9 August 1971

CPYRGHT

# Lessons of history

By John K. Cooley

Beirut, Lebanon

Sudan's newest anti-Communist purge is only the latest episode in a kind of serialized thriller story that has fascinated, shocked and sometimes bored the Arab world for nearly 15 years.

This is the struggle between the Soviet-backed, orthodox-minded Mideastern Communist parties and their enemies, the Arab nationalists.

It is a tale replete with surprises and with old enemies sometimes turning up as friends.

Most of the Soviet-type Arab Communist parties are small, weak, illegal and suppressed, even by regimes receiving a generous portion of Soviet aid, like those in Egypt, Algeria, and Iraq. For the most part Moscow has been perfectly content to sit by and watch the ill-organized Arab comrades, originally led by Europeans, be prosecuted or persecuted. Moscow's own state-to-state relations with the Arab governments improved as a result.

The Sudanese Communist Party, now object of a ruthless repression by Sudanese General Jaafar al Nimeiry's forces, is different. It is strong and well organized. Its leader, Abdel Khalek Mahgoub, who was executed July 28 for his alleged part in the July 19 pro-Communist coup against General Nimeiry, was known and respected in orthodox Communist circles around the world.

What is more, Mr. Mahgoub's disciplined legions of workers, schoolteachers, bureaucrats, and intellectuals did much to help General Nimeiry overthrow Sudan's ailing parliamentary regime in the latter's own

coup d'état in May, 1969.

To understand some of the difficulties of today's Sudan, it is useful to dip into recent Arab history, which tends to repeat itself in short cycles.

Back in 1958, the late President Nasser of Egypt reluctantly accepted a federal union with the anti-Communist Syrian Government. Rather than be involved with an experiment he felt was doomed to failure, Syrian Communist leader Khalid Bagdash disappeared from Damascus. He turned up in Peking, where he denounced both President Nasser and the Soviet Union.

Another Arab federation is at stake today. This time it is the projected one of Egypt, Libya, and Syria. General Nimeiry wanted Sudan to join it. The Sudanese Communists did not, but their Soviet friends carefully avoided taking any public stand on the issue.

In 1959, shortly after the flight of Mr. Bagdash from Syria, Iraqi dictator Abdel Karim Kassem, who had been imprisoning Communists, suddenly changed tactics. He released Communist leaders and unleashed armed Communist militia against his other enemies, the Baath (Arab socialist) party. In northern Iraq hundreds were killed in what came to be called the "Mosul Massacre."

Oddly enough, the same Iraqi Baathists, now in power in Baghdad, but isolated and badly in need of friends in the outside Arab world, have been supporting the Sudanese Communists against General Nimeiry.

In the next episode, in February, 1963, the Baathists seized power in Iraq and launched a drive to liquidate the strong Iraqi Communist Party.

Three hundred Communists broke out of detention at the Al Rashid military camp in Baghdad. More fighting, repression

and executions followed, but the party was not liquidated.

In 1963 the Iraqi Baathists accused the Bulgarian embassy of helping the Communist plotters. Egyptian journalists friendly to General Nimeiry made the same charge against the Bulgarian embassy in Khartoum in the Communist coup attempt of this month. Just as the events of 1959 and 1963 strained President Nasser's relations with the Soviets, so are those in Sudan today producing a chorus of accusations from Moscow and pro-Moscow Communists.

One of the issues in Syria in 1958 and in Iraq in 1959 and '63 is identical with one in today's Sudan: the one-party state.

General Nimeiry now, like President Nasser and General Kassem then, wants a one-party system. The Communists would have to cease their own political existence as a party.

Egypt's Communists agreed to do this. They merged into Egypt's Arab Socialist Union, its imperfect but sole legal party, though some remained in concentration camps just the same.

The Communists of Iraq, Syria, and Sudan never agreed to efface themselves like the Egyptian ones. They have continued a worried and often underground existence.

Very probably, say the old Sudanese hands, Abdel Khalek Mahgoub and his men feared the imposition of a one-party system in Sudan. This would spell the end of the Communist Party and all its many front organizations for workers, students, women, young people, and university graduates.

Ignoring the lessons of history, both General Nimeiry and the Communists in Sudan were rigid and uncompromising. So far this has been the undoing of the Communists, but the next episode may not be long in coming.

DAILY TELEGRAPH, London  
28 July 1971

CPYRGHT

## RUSSIA'S SUDAN QUANDARY

RUSSO-ARAB harmony has received its nastiest jolt as a result of the short-lived coup in the Sudan, now being stamped out in an anti-Communist blood-bath and witch-hunt by the restored ruler, Col NUMEIRY. The alliance between Soviet imperialism and Arab nationalism has always been one of the most cynical expediency. One reason is the basic contradiction between Communism and Islam. Another is that the Arabs have been inveigled into opening their gates to the only country in the world that has strategic designs against their lands—the neighbouring Russian Super Power. Finally Russia, while prejudicing the Arabs' natural oil market in the West, offers no comparable outlet in compensation.

Hitherto Russia has taken extreme care not to give offence by open interference in Arab affairs. Thus, although in most Arab countries Communism is outlawed and its supporters harshly repressed, the Russians have sedulously refrained from remonstrances. Now, suddenly, Tass has come right out with a condemnatory statement speaking of "bloody terror . . . hysterical anti-Communist campaign . . . military tribunals making short work of patriots." Col NUMEIRY's Government is warned of "the danger of the path along which it pushes the country."

There was also more tangible Russian intervention. Russian military advisers and technicians tried to stop loyalist troops using tanks and aircraft against the rebels, and some were locked up after encounters. All this will go down badly in the Arab world, especially in Egypt and Libya, where a rescue operation for Col NUMEIRY against the Communist was being mounted. President SADAT of Egypt, a strict Moslem, is even more suspicious of Communism than was Col. NASSER, while Col. GADDAFI of Libya is fanatically intolerant—to say nothing of the Arab kings. But why is Russia sticking her neck out for the Sudanese Communists? Surely not, in view of her own record, because blood is being shed in the suppression of a rebellion. Chagrin because a coup by Africa's biggest Communist party was prevented? Its success, at this stage, would have been an embarrassment. The answer is probably that Russia, with China competing for leadership of the Communist world, could not afford to remain silent.



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HINDUSTAN TIMES  
29 July 1971

# Land of coups, Sudan has worse in store

From Madan M. Saudie  
Hindustan Times Correspondent

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Addis Ababa: Coups in Africa have become a tiny game. One needs only to seize the radio, the airport and the Government House, and the job is done.

The large mass of the population merely stands as a dazed spectator of the hectic goings-on. It is often the military that undertakes such operations but more often it is the civilian politicians that cause the military to act.

Indeed, the frequency of coups and now counter-coups—in Africa seems to underscore the complementary character of the equation between civilians and the military. One needs the other to rule.

In point is the African largest country where Governments have changed hands between the politicians and military in turns since its independence in 1958.

But all military regimes, without exception, have tended to enlist popular support and participation, as much as civilian Governments have rested on the loyalty of the soldier. But neither the civilians nor the army in the country could ever represent any cohesive element.

## Reds pampered

The regime of Gen. Al Nimeiry, which came to power in May 1969, further divided the masses and the army into two broad groups: the Communists and non-Communists. It first pampered the communists by embracing them into the Government and then began to demolish their rank and file.

The result was the communist-inspired coup that ousted Gen. Nimeiry on July 19.

Nevertheless, for Nimeiry there was no alternative to a purge of the Communists and it occurred to him that the risk was worth taking. The Communist-inspired radical policies had brought about ruination of the country's economy. Investments were dwindling, and foreign capital was keeping off.

Moreover, the Communists had become a stumbling block in the way of the Nimeiry Government's gradual move into the Arab fold. And, it was the popular feeling thus aroused against Sudan's entry into an Arab Federation that kept Sudan away from the subsequent negotiations for the Federation which comes into being on Sept. 1.

Impelled by such pressures of the Communists on public opinion, the Nimeiry regime embarked on a collision course with the Communists. In October, 1969, Gen. Nimeiry dropped the 53-year-old Marxist Abubakar Awadallah from the post of his regime's first Prime Minister. Mr. Awadallah was accused of claiming in an address to students in East Berlin that the Communists were the sole saviours of the Nimeiry regime. Further, when the Communist Party—Africa's only one—refused to dissolve itself in defiance of Gen. Nimeiry's directive, its general secretary, Mr. Khalck Mahgoub, was arrested and 13 senior army officers with Communist leanings were dismissed.

Gen. Nimeiry went a step further on Nov. 18 last when he dismissed three Communist mem-

bers of the ruling Revolutionary Council of Ministers—two of them being Lt-Col. Babakt Al-Noor and Maj. Al Attiah who, together with the third, Maj. Farouk Osman Hamadalla, staged the July 19 putsch—and stripped them of their ranks.

The Ministers were accused of leaking State secrets and maintaining "contacts" abroad, possibly, as the recent events showed, with the Baathist party in Iraq which detests Egyptian hegemony of the Arab world and wanted Sudan to come to her own side.

The real blow to the Communists was struck in February this year when Gen. Nimeiry announced that his Government would "crush" and "destroy" the Communists and purge all Communists from public life. He had argued that it was the duty of his Government to protect the citizens against the terrorism unleashed by the Communists.

Nevertheless, the Communists continued their underground activities relentlessly. Only last month the Communist Party general secretary Mahgoub had successfully escaped from jail with the help of a corporal on duty. However, while the Communists within the country were still far from "crushed," Gen. Nimeiry was at pains to reassure Communist countries abroad that his domestic policies should not automatically affect the friendly relations of his country with them. He had particularly in mind Communist China and the Soviet Union with whom, he said, Sudan's relations have been really fruitful.

But more than all this it was Sudan's increasing involvement in Arab politics that brought about

the recent disturbances in the country.

## Southern problem

And this position puts Sudan in a difficult situation in the context of its southern problem. It is commonly believed that the rebels in the South, mostly Christians and Pagans, who seek secession from the Arab north, are getting military assistance from Israel, and presumably from Uganda where thousands of Southern Sudanese are living in exile.

It is indeed a fight between Christians and Muslims on the one hand, and Arabs and Africans, on the other.

Within the Arab north too the traditional elements, spearheaded by the Ansars, have been suppressed but not eliminated. To these elements Gen. Nimeiry's brand of socialism seems incompatible with the relative conservatism of Islam. They still owe allegiance to Muslim Brotherhood, a movement against which Nasser fought throughout, in his own country.

Gen. Nimeiry's dramatic comeback on July 22, therefore, once again brings him face to face with the problems of his country. But his tasks now would be harder than ever.

The army is critically divided. Conservative elements will still stand in the way of his "progressive revolution."

The southern problem will continue to cause a heavy drain on the country's financial and military resources, while the general state of Sudanese economy is far from satisfactory.



LE MONDE, Paris

30 July 1971

CPYRGHT

## APRÈS L'EXÉCUTION DES DIRIGEANTS COMMUNISTES

## Les relations entre Moscou et Khartoum traversent une période difficile

Une grave crise menace les relations entre Moscou et Khartoum après les sévères mesures de répression anti-communiste adoptées par les dirigeants soudanais. Notre envoyé spécial au Soudan, Eric Rouleau, indique que l'on s'efforcera de part et d'autre d'éviter une rupture totale.

● A MOSCOU, où la campagne de protestation s'amplifie, deux cents étudiants arabes ont manifesté ce jeudi 29 juillet devant l'ambassade du Soudan aux cris de « Kadhafi, tu es un lâche », « Nemeiry subira le sort de Noury Saïd ».

● AU PROCHE-ORIENT, M. Joseph Sisco, secrétaire d'Etat adjoint américain, était attendu jeudi à Jérusalem. Il serait porteur d'un nouveau plan américain présenté comme une solution provisoire mais qui pourrait être durable, sinon définitive.

De notre envoyé spécial ERIC ROULEAU

Khartoum. — Malgré les dénégations officielles, il y a tout lieu de croire que les relations entre le Soudan et l'U.R.S.S. traversent une ardue crise. Nous apprenons, en effet, de bonne source, que les quelque deux mille conseillers soviétiques, civils et militaires, ont été priés depuis quelques jours par les autorités soudanaises d'arrêter toute activité et de rester, dans la mesure du possible, chez eux.

Certains ont déjà choisi de quitter le pays. Tous les experts est-allemands en matière de sécurité qui avaient été affectés au ministère de l'Intérieur ont été mis à pied. Depuis lundi, les correspondants des pays communistes sont empêchés d'exercer leur métier : ils ne sont plus conviés aux conférences de presse où ils ne peuvent plus communiquer avec l'extérieur, leurs lignes téléphoniques et de télex ayant été coupées. Depuis mercredi 28 juillet, toutes les ambassades — mais ce sont elles des pays de l'Est qui sont très probablement visées — sont tenues de mettre leurs valises diplomatiques à la disposition des autorités soudanaises, qui se réservent le droit d'en contrôler le contenu. Cette mesure a provoqué une vive émotion dans les milieux diplomatiques, aussi bien occidentaux qu'orientaux.

Tandis que se poursuivait à huis clos le procès du secrétaire général du P.C. soudanais, Abdel Khalek Mahjoub, l'ambassadeur soviétique — apprenons-nous, également de sources dignes de foi — a exigé d'être reçu d'urgence par le

général Nemeiry. L'entretien se serait déroulé dans un climat orageux. Le représentant de Moscou aurait élevé une vive protestation contre la manière dont sont traités les conseillers et experts soviétiques et aurait demandé des explications. Ne les ayant pas obtenus, il aurait posé sans détours la question de savoir si le gouvernement soudanais soupçonnait le Kremlin d'avoir télécommandé ou soutenu le coup d'Etat procommuniste du 19 juillet. Le général Nemeiry aurait répondu sèche-

### Un message de M. Podgorny

Selon certaines informations non confirmées, l'ambassadeur soviétique aurait été le seul diplomate étranger à rendre visite au chef des putschistes, le commandant Hachem El Atta. Plus grave encore aurait été le rôle joué par certains experts militaires soviétiques dans le déroulement du coup d'Etat. A en croire les rumeurs qui circulent à Khartoum, ils auraient notamment provoqué l'immobilisation de chars appartenant à un régiment loyaliste.

Il est possible que ces rumeurs ne soient pas fondées, mais il est significatif qu'elles émanent de milieux proches du gouvernement. A l'ambassade soviétique, qui ressemble de plus en plus à un camp retranché, il n'est pas possible d'obtenir la moindre indication à ce sujet. Mais les fonctionnaires, qui, par-dessus les grilles de l'ambassade,

les journalistes occidentaux, ne tentent plus de nier que Moscou réprouve la chasse livrée aux communistes soudanais. Il semble que la discrétion observée jusqu'ici ait été dictée, entre autres raisons, par un souci d'efficacité. En effet, selon une personnalité officielle, le chef de l'Etat soudanais aurait reçu de M. Podgorny un message dans lequel le président du présidium du Soviet suprême le priait, d'une manière pressante, d'épargner la vie du secrétaire général de la C.G.T., Chafel El Cheikh. Le général Nemeiry a rejeté la demande, répondant brutalement que Moscou prenait ainsi la défense d'un « criminel de droit commun ».

Le président de la R.A.U., M. Anouar El Sadate, aurait, de son côté, téléphoné au général Nemeiry pour l'informer que M. Podgorny lui avait demandé d'intervenir pour sauver la tête de Chafel El Cheikh. Le chef de l'Etat égyptien, précisent nos informateurs soudanais, n'a cependant formulé aucune requête en son nom propre. On laisse d'ailleurs volontiers entendre ici que le gouvernement égyptien approuve parfaitement les mesures anti-communistes prises au Soudan.

Quoi qu'il en soit, après cet épisode Moscou aurait jugé inutile de plaider la grâce pour le secrétaire général du parti communiste Abdel Khalek Mahjoub. Les Soviétiques auraient été particulièrement révoltés par la manière avec laquelle les tra-

jeux de leur assistance militaire et économique. C'est ainsi que l'on explique ici la violence du ton adopté par l'agence Tass pour condamner les persécutions anti-communistes au Soudan. Et c'est très probablement ce communiqué qui a suscité la déclaration, mercredi soir, du général Nemeiry dénonçant la campagne de presse déclenchée à l'étranger contre le Soudan. Le texte, signé par le chef de l'Etat, comporte une menace à peine voilée adressée à l'U.R.S.S., puisqu'il rappelle que les rapports entre les Etats doivent être fondés uniquement sur les intérêts communs, excluant toute ingérence dans les affaires intérieures.

Les « intérêts communs » aux deux pays sont loin d'être négligeables. Si le Soudan paraît tirer un grand profit économique et militaire de son alliance avec l'U.R.S.S., cette dernière perdrait énormément sur les plans stratégique et politique si elle devait se couper d'un Etat occupant une position centrale en Afrique, à la charnière entre l'univers noir et le monde arabe. La présence même de l'U.R.S.S. en Egypte et, par là, au Proche-Orient, dépend dans une certaine mesure de la solidité de son implantation dans l'intérieur du Soudan.

C'est pourquoi rares sont les observateurs à Khartoum qui croient à la probabilité d'une rupture entre les deux pays. La volonté du général Nemeiry de ne pas ébruiter les crises qu'il nourrit à l'égard du Kremlin de ne pas ren-

re publiques les mesures vexatoires prises à l'encontre de ses ressortissants confirment l'impression que les deux capitales espèrent encore éviter l'irréparable.

Cependant, les milieux dirigeants soudanais ne sont pas unanimes à souhaiter le maintien de relations étroites avec l'U.A.S.S. La droite du régime — plus forte après la liquidation physique des dirigeants de l'extrême gauche et des progressistes — s'efforce de convaincre le général Nemeiry de changer de cap en politique étrangère.

### De nouvelles arrestations

Pour l'instant, toutefois, le principal souci du général Nemeiry est de préserver son image de marque de leader « progressiste » sans pour autant

interrompre la tâche qu'il s'est fixée de liquider une fois pour toutes l'extrême gauche dans son pays. Mercredi, les arrestations se poursuivaient tandis qu'une centaine de « suspects » étaient remis en liberté.

Deux personnalités de premier plan du monde syndical ont été appréhendées : MM. Haj Abdel Rahman, secrétaire général adjoint de la C.G.T., et Awadallah Ibrahim, président de cette même centrale ouvrière. Les deux hommes s'étaient réfugiés dans la clandestinité. Au total, environ une quarantaine de dirigeants sont encore activement recherchés, en particulier deux membres du bureau politique du parti communiste, MM. Tayeb El Tigani et Mohamed Ibrahim Nugud. Le premier était responsable de l'organisation du parti

dans le Grand-Khartoum, le second passait pour être le collaborateur le plus proche d'Abdel Khalek Mahjoub. Leurs portraits ainsi que ceux de deux autres membres du comité central, MM. Jazouli Said et Soliman Hamed, sont diffusés sur les écrans de la télévision et dans la presse. Ils seraient, dit-on, pendus tous les quatre s'ils devaient être arrêtés. Tout membre de la direction du parti communiste est, en effet, considéré comme personnellement responsable du coup d'Etat du 19 juillet.

A Omdurman, l'une des trois agglomérations du Grand-Khartoum, et quartier populaire considéré comme un fief communiste, les fidèles d'Abdel Khalek Mahjoub pleurent le leader disparu. L'indignation et l'écoulement seraient les sentiments les plus

répandus, même dans les milieux non communistes, où l'on fait remarquer que les Soudanais réprochent, par nature, toute effusion de sang.

Mme Abdel Khalek Mahjoub, la veuve du secrétaire général du P.C., a été arrêtée mercredi matin.

En entendant à la radio la nouvelle de l'exécution de son mari, elle s'était précipitée dans la rue pour crier sa haine contre la « dictature sanguinaire » et les « assassins ».

Sa belle-sœur, qui nous a reçus au seuil de la maison, a déclaré aux journalistes occidentaux présents : « Dites à l'opinion mondiale que le peuple soudanais est fier d'Abdel Khalek, il est mort la tête haute, en luttant pour ses convictions ».

ERIC ROULEAU.

DAILY TELEGRAPH, London  
2 August 1971

CPYRGHT

## RUSSIA AND THE ARABS

RUSSIA'S SETBACK in the Middle East as a result of the abortive Communist coup in the Sudan is easily the worst since the Six-Day War. Schadenfreude in the West must be tempered by the memory that on that occasion Russia turned the defeat of her Arab protégés into a brilliant strategic and political success for her expansionist Mediterranean and Middle East policy. She did this partly by more than making good, in an incredibly short time and regardless of cost, the Arabs' enormous losses of military equipment. In addition she got away—without American reaction—with direct intervention in the war on an increasing and by now highly significant scale.

To some extent Russia's troubles, as before, are military—although less dramatically so—and psychological. True, there has been no fresh Arab defeat. But there has been no victory either, no regaining of lost lands, nor any early prospect. The best that President SADAT can offer to keep up spirits is to proclaim 1971 as the year of decision, 1972 as the year of preparation, and so on. Is this, the Arabs ask, all that the Russians can do for them, after inciting them to war in 1967 and letting them be defeated? Under the strain Arab divisiveness has produced an imbroglio of feuds and internal and external crises unprecedented even in the Middle East. In this overwrought atmosphere Russia's part in the Sudan affair

has set fire to some of the vast quantities of anti-Communist tinder in the Moslem Arab world.

An open break between Moscow and Khartoum would gravely damage Russia's position in Africa as well as the Middle East. It is curious that Russia should have risked her enormous investment in the Middle East by standing up for the Sudanese Communists. Never before has the tail of outside Communist opinion wagged the Russian dog to this extent. There are more urgent questions. Will Russia try to correct the situation and maintain Arab loyalty by upping the ante, as she did in 1967? She can only do this now by offering Egypt her full support in war. Or might Russia think that her involvement in the volatile Middle East has gone far enough?

America should warn Russia against military adventures. The West as a whole should remind the Arabs of the mutual identity of interest in every field, with special reference to the expansion of oil production and sales. The signing yesterday of the Egyptian pipeline agreement was apposite. Mr Sisco, in Jerusalem, has a difficult task, Mrs Meir even more so. She can argue that Israel is winning the battle of nerves. But, at the right moment, she must be willing to take calculated risks for peace. The parties must return to the Suez Canal discussions with a renewed determination to find a way.

THE GUARDIAN, Manchester  
2 August 1971

## The Arab way with an ally

Most developing nations have made the point to the Great Powers at one time or another that interference in their internal affairs—real or imagined—will not be tolerated. This has been the burden of the message of the executions and numerous arrests of Communists in the Sudan, after the unsuccessful attempt to overthrow President Numeiri. The Sudanese leader's reaction to Soviet and East European complaints about his activities has been to indicate that Soviet advisers are about to leave and to warn the Soviet Union to end its attacks on his regime. In doing so, he is arguing, on his own terms, that a Soviet-Sudanese relationship should be a two-way affair, and that it needs the efforts of both sides to keep it going. This will be seen as relevant to Arab-Soviet relations as a whole.

The Soviet Union must be disappointed in what has happened. In giving total support to the Arabs against Israel they should have been on to a winner. It has been no difficult task for them to emerge in a better light for the Arabs beside the United States, seen as the evil supplier of hostile equipment to an aggressive Israel. The mood of self-proclaimed revolutionary, socialist Arab governments should superficially have matched easily with that of the Soviet Union. The anti-imperialist line adopted by most Arab States should have given it a head start. And in strategic terms, Soviet naval deployment in the Mediterranean, and access to air and naval bases in Arab countries along the shore have been major gains since the war of June 1967. Sudan has shown, however, that the Soviet policies have their fragile corners.

Sudan's decision to join the Federation of Arab Republics (of Egypt, Libya, and Syria) gives its actions wider significance. Implicit is the approval they must have. They also confirm a recurrent tendency in the Arab world to deal severely with people suspected of communism—no matter how woolly the definition of this term. The persecution of Communists in Sudan also demonstrates that, when it matters, outside powers can have only marginal influence on internal politics. In Egypt, the Soviet Union has extensive control over the armed forces and certain sectors of the economy. This naturally brings with it some general influence on policies. But when President Sadat had his clean-out in May in the aftermath of Mr Ali Sabri's challenge, the Soviet Union was waiting on the sidelines with the rest of the world to see what was happening.

President Numeiri's anti-Communist outburst could find its echoes. President Sadat's political reorganisations in Egypt suggest a shift towards the right, and towards emphasising Islam. President Gadhafi holds forth in pan-Arab tones, and against Israel and Jordan with one hand firmly on the Koran. President Assad of Syria has tangled once before with the Soviet Union when he suspected them of putting pressure on Syria internally. Sudan has served notice that, however sympathetic the Arab may be towards the Soviet Union for its help in specific areas, they will react with hostility—even to their own economic cost—towards any suspicion of interference.

THE EVENING STAR, Washington  
7 August 1971

## The Sudanese Communists

As the Russians are discovering in Sudan, it is sometimes easier to identify your enemies than your ideological friends. And the Sudanese Communists are discovering to their discomfiture that, as has happened so many other times in so many other parts of the world, the Russians always will sacrifice a local Communist party when it is necessary to do so to preserve the Kremlin's strategic objectives.

Since his counter-coup, General Numeiri has executed at least 14 Communists and Communist sympathizers. Others are being hunted down and imprisoned, leaving the Sudanese Communist party, the largest in Africa or the Middle East, in total disarray.

edly has told the Soviet Union that Egypt will continue to suppress its own Communists and to resist Communism elsewhere in the Arab world. And the Russians, as the abatement of their protests about Numeiri's actions shows, have had to swallow this bitter pill, much as they did in the late 1950s when President Nasser cracked down on the Egyptian Reds.

While the Arab leaders still intend to milk the Soviet Union for as much military and economic aid as possible, the prospects for Arab Communists in the great arc from the Pillars of Hercules to the Fertile Crescent seldom have appeared dimmer. That is good news, and it says something about both the vitality of Arab nationalism and the vitality of the Soviet Union.

WASHINGTON POST  
12 August 1971

# Sudan Halts Soviet Imports

Special to The Washington Post  
CAIRO, Aug. 11—Sudan's ministry of economy has announced that imports from the Soviet Union have been suspended after Moscow allegedly violated a trade agreement. Minister of State for Economy Mohamed Idris also severely criticized Soviet trade methods. Sudan's criticism of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries was coupled with praise for China and Yugoslavia as countries that respect their agreements. This is believed to be fur-

ther evidence of Sudan's deteriorating relations with the Soviet Union after the unsuccessful Communist-led coup against the government of President Jaafar Nimeri last month.

According to the Sudanese newspaper al Ayam, Idris accused the Soviet Union of levying a 30-per-cent increase above international rates on commodities it sold to Sudan under the bilateral trading agreement.

He also charged the Soviet Union with having sold Sudanese cotton at rebates of up

to 10 per cent in Sudan's traditional markets.

An economy ministry spokesman said yesterday that the Soviet Union bought almost 60 per cent of Sudan's cotton and then sold it to India and other countries. Moscow paid 25 per cent in hard currency for the cotton and the rest in military equipment, he said.

Idris spoke today of a "new policy" for Sudan's trade, under which the people's needs would be imported from all over the world.

"We will revise all the vio-

lated agreements to ensure that discrepancies will not occur in future," Idris said. The bilateral agreements with socialist countries were a sensitive issue but one had to talk frankly, he added.

The minister praised China and Yugoslavia for respecting their agreements to the letter and announced that Sudan would import \$3 million worth of textiles from China.

It was earlier announced that a Sudanese delegation led by Defense Minister Maj. Gen. Khaled Abbas will visit Peking shortly.

BALTIMORE SUN  
13 August 1971

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## Sudan Reds Elect New Chief

Beirut, Lebanon (AP)—The hard-pressed Communist party in the Sudan has elected a new leader and vowed to wage "ceaseless underground struggle" to overthrow the regime of Maj. Gen. Gaafar al-Numairy, the official newspaper of Middle Eastern communism reported yesterday.

The newspaper, *Al Nida*, of Beirut, said the party Central Committee unanimously chose Mohammed Ibrahim Nogod as secretary general. The paper did not say where the committee met.

Mr. Nogod replaces Abdul Khalek Mahnoub, who was hanged in Khartoum recently on charges of having planned the July 19 coup which General Numairy overturned three days later.

Meanwhile the Sudanese deputy prime minister said today his country does not wish to escalate tensions with Moscow.

In a brief statement over Omdurman Radio monitored in Cairo, Babakr Awadalla said, "We do not wish to escalate the tensions between Sudan and the Soviet Union any further. We desire the normalization of relations between the two countries."

Relations between Sudan and the Soviet Union were strained almost to the breaking point after the attempted coup and the subsequent execution of 14 Communist leaders and sympathizers.

General Numairy recalled his ambassador from Moscow and asked the Soviet counselor in Khartoum to leave.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR  
12 August 1971  
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## Page from Communist master plan

By Paul Wohl

Soviet setbacks in Egypt and Sudan seem to have been inspired by Moscow's action plan for conquest of political power in Africa. Presidents Sadat of Egypt and Jaafar al-Nimeiry of Sudan merely lifted a page from the Soviet textbook and applied it against its authors.

The Soviet action plan is contained in a book published in October, 1970, under the auspices of the Africa Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., entitled "The Political Parties of Africa." The book, which was printed in only 3,700 copies, was destined for Moscow's Africa specialists and for its political agents. The edition was kept unusually small in the expectation that the text would not fall into non-Communist hands.

The Soviet action plan pays special attention to Guinea, Algeria, the U.A.R., Tanzania, Congo-Brazzaville, Angola, Portuguese Guinea, and Mozambique. These are the countries where democratic-revolutionary people's parties either are in power or head a national liberation movement. Such parties, says the book, can become "reliable detachments of the Communist and workers' movement." But even when they are in power or when they are able to seize power, other social forces are active on the political chessboard.

The task of the Communists is to use these forces in order to "transform the democratic-revolutionary peoples' parties into new parties of a vanguard (meaning Communist) type." This can be, the book warns, "an extremely slow and contradictory process."

"Through their nuclei inside the democratic-revolutionary people's parties the Communists must seek to place these parties before the alternative of continuing

their alliance with the bourgeoisie or of siding firmly with the workers and peasants."

"The elaboration by the Communists of correct tactics for the democratic-revolutionary parties is of special importance. By entering into the ranks of the democratic-revolutionary people's parties, the Communists turn these parties toward the revolution."

Entrance into the party in power should not be considered by the Communists as a winding up of their own party. "On the contrary, the Communists must try to overcome the resistance of nationalist elements on the right wing of the ruling parties and gain the support of the more revolutionary elements of the left wing."

This is exactly what the Communist nucleus in Egypt's ruling party sought to do. Only President Sadat, who may have had knowledge of the Soviet textbook, arrested and did away with the members of the Communist nucleus inside his party just in time.

In Sudan, where the Communists formed a coalition party, they thought the moment had come to seize full power. When President Nimeiry struck back, he carried out what the Communist textbook recommended, namely "to proceed to regular purges of elements alien to the party." What the Sudanese President did was to purge the purgers who had sought to purge him.

Through their pedantry and doctrinaire insistence on giving their agents detailed printed instructions while underpinning these instructions "theoretically," the Communists have been hoisted by their own petard.

CPYRGHT

SOVIET AND OTHER COMMUNIST MEDIA COMMENT ON SUDANESE DEVELOPMENTS

TASS DEPLORES "REPRESSION" OF COMMUNISTS AFTER COUNTERCOUP

CPYRGHT

A TASS statement on 27 July registers Moscow's protest against the "repression" of communists and other "patriots" and the "hysterical anticommunist campaign" in Sudan following the 22 July counter-coup returning Revolution Command Council Chairman an-Numayri to power. Moscow had reported approvingly, and in some detail, the 19 July "corrective action coup" overthrowing an-Numayri, TASS claiming that it was cheered by "thousands of elated people" in Khartoum. And a NEW TIMES article reported by TASS on the 21st had called the coup an "important event in the political life of the Arab world," while a LIFE ABROAD article, signed to the press the same day, approvingly enumerated the proclaimed policies of the "new Sudan leadership."

The terse TASS reports of developments in the wake of the counter-coup conveyed Moscow's unhappiness with the turn of events and its dilemma in having to support an-Numayri, a friend of the Egyptian and Libyan leaders, while he was calling for "punishment" of Sudanese communists. Initial arrests and executions of leading coup figures were noted only in brief dispatches, but with the 26 July arrest of Sudanese CP Secretary General 'Abd al-Khaliq Mahjub and the execution that day of Sudanese trade union leader ash-Shafi' Ahmad ash-Shaykh, Moscow seemingly felt constrained to make a public protest. Both East European media and West European CPs had already been criticizing the "anticommunist campaign" in Sudan.

Moscow has taken virtually no note of Arab reaction to the Sudanese events--either pro- or anti-an-Numayri. TASS reported an-Numayri's closure of the Iraqi embassy in Khartoum and the Sudanese embassy in Baghdad "in view of the Iraqi Government's hostile action." But there was no elaboration and apparently only the LIFE ABROAD article, signed to press 21 July, acknowledged Iraq's prompt recognition and support of the 19 July coup. There was no mention of the Iraqi delegation sent to convey congratulations, whose plane crashed in Saudi Arabia on the day of the counter-coup. Moscow has indicated UAR and Libyan stands only by briefly reporting Libya's removal of two 19 July coup figures from a BOAC plane which landed in Benghazi by order of the Libyan authorities, who subsequently "forwarded" the passengers to an-Numayri, and by noting that an-Numayri had had telephone contacts with as-Sadat and Qadhdhafi.

STATEMENTS BY The TASS statement refrains from condemnation  
TASS, AUCCTU of Sudanese Chairman an-Numayri while deploring  
the arrests and harsh sentences against  
"absolutely innocent people," communists and other patriots,  
charged with complicity in the 19 July movement. The statement

Sudanese leadership is aware of the danger of the road onto which they are pushing the country," a situation dangerous "for the very destinies of the Sudanese national democratic revolution." It also hopes that the leadership "will find the strength" to return to the path of consolidating the unity of all national patriotic forces and safeguarding success in the struggle against imperialism and for Sudan's social progress.

TASS routinely points to approval by imperialism and reaction of the "bloody terror and fanning of anticommunism" in Sudan. It praises the Sudanese CP's role in strengthening the country's national independence and social progress, likewise hailing the arrested Mahjub and executed ash-Shaykh as "heroic sons of the Sudanese people." Late on the 26th TASS had carried a statement by the Soviet All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU) voicing its "wrathful condemnation" of the "murder" of Sudanese trade union leader and WFTU vice president ash-Shaykh, holder of a Lenin peace prize. His execution, the statement asserts, plays into the hands of those who always sought to strike at the Sudanese trade unions, undermine the unity of the Sudanese people, and weaken their struggle for the country's progressive and democratic development.

Moscow has followed up these statements with a TRUD memorial on the executed trade union leader and publicity for protest meetings in two Moscow plants, as well as for protest statements by the Lenin prize committee, WFTU, WPC, and the Syrian, Lebanese, French, and Austrian CPs. The 28 July execution of 'Abd al-Khaliq Mahjub may well prompt further expressions of outrage and appeals for an end to reprisals. Reporting the execution, TASS said Mahjub was charged with leading the antigovernment coup and resumption of activity of the banned Sudanese CP, and had pleaded not guilty on all counts. TASS noted that although it had initially been announced that the trial would be public, it was closed after a 45-minute session. The strongest criticisms thus far come not from official Soviet propaganda but in the WFTU statement, carried by TASS on the 27th, and in a Moscow worker's remarks at a protest meeting, reported in an Arabic-language broadcast the same day. WFTU described the "heinous murder" of Ahmad ash-Shaykh as a violation "by the an-Numayri government" of the UN declaration on human rights and "of statements made in the recent past by the head of government" about respect for WFTU and Sudanese trade union activity. And the Moscow worker reportedly charged the "Sudanese authorities" with having taken the wrong course and "committed mistakes which cannot be rectified, and it is possible that worse mistakes will be committed."

COUP OF 19 JULY      Reporting from Cairo on the 20th, TASS said that Major Hasim al-'Ata, who headed the 19 July coup, had declared that the armed forces would establish a democratic political system and that Sudan would participate in the anti-imperialist front and maintain friendly relations



with the USSR. The new authorities, TASS pointed out, had lifted the ban on the activity of the trade union, youth, students, and women's organizations. In a Khartoum-dated dispatch on the 21st, TASS cited al-'Ata as stating that the coup was necessary because of the suppression of democratic freedoms by the former Sudanese leaders and their "serious mistakes in leadership" resulting in a deteriorating political and economic situation. The item noted that an-Numayri and five other members of the council had been arrested.

Soviet comment on the 19 July action seems confined to the NEW TIMES and LIFE ABROAD articles. The Volskiy NEW TIMES article, reviewed by TASS on the 21st, noted that the coup leaders stood for the ideals of the May 1969 revolution in Sudan, and observed that while the country had achieved a good deal since then, Sudan still faced complex problems which "imperialist circles" were endeavoring to exploit. Implying a Western hand in Sudanese affairs, Volskiy commented that Western experts on the Middle East doubtless had not overlooked reports of differences within the council "and the result was" that three council members were discharged last November. The TASS account does not indicate whether Volskiy identified the three discharged members-- al-'Ata, Lt. Col. Ba Bakr 'Uthman, and Maj. Faruq Hamadallah-- as the leading figures in the 19 July coup. Volskiy went on to remark that an-Numayri, council chairman "at that time, spoke about the action being taken by the left who, as he put it, turned to be the opposition." Volskiy added that Western newsmen subsequently visiting Sudan evinced satisfaction regarding "signs of a wish for contacts" in the West, but that such trends could hardly be to the liking of the Sudanese people.

An international review article in LIFE ABROAD (No. 30, signed to press 21 July) concluded with a summation of the program announced by al-'Ata, highlighting his declaration that Sudan would join the anti-imperialist front "which has friendly relations" with the Soviet Union. It noted that in domestic policy, Sudan was proclaimed "a democratic republic where 'all power belongs to the people,'" and the south was promised the right to self-government. LIFE ABROAD pointed out that Lebanese papers were publishing reports on the events under such headings as "progressive state coup."

**REACTION BY OTHER  
 COMMUNIST MEDIA**

The Bulgarian news agency BTA on the 24th carried an authorized statement denying a report in Cairo's AL-AHRAM that day that Sudanese CP Secretary General Mahjub had received asylum in the Bulgarian embassy in Khartoum, from which he organized the unsuccessful coup. The AL-AHRAM report, BTA said, "is not in accordance with the truth"; Mahjub "has not sought and has not received shelter" in the Bulgarian embassy in Khartoum. (AL-AHRAM's story, as reported by the MIDDLE EAST NEWS AGENCY [MENA] on the 24th, said that most of the coup leaders, June 0000070001-6

who were used by the Sudanese CP" in hope that once the party gained control "it could get rid of them." The paper cited "well-informed Sudanese sources" for the report that preparations for the 19 July coup began from the time Mahjub escaped from detention late in June; he hid inside the Bulgarian embassy, it added, and from there began his contacts.)

Prior to the issuance of the TASS statement, concern had already been expressed by the British, French, and Syrian CPs and by Polish and Hungarian media, with Budapest's NEPSZABADSAG on the 25th also remarking that an-Numayri's return to power was received with "pleasure and relief" in Libya and the UAR. NEPSZABADSAG on the 27th disavowed any intention of intervening in the domestic affairs of Sudan but nevertheless said one "must pay attention to the contradictions" in the events in Khartoum. MAGYAR HIRLAP, as reported by MTI on the 26th, said it had been known that "various analyses" of the Sudanese CP's role had been made within the Sudanese leadership, while there had also been a "difference of opinion" within the party as to whether to support an-Numayri's regime.

Continued Polish concern and protests are reported by PAP, including a letter to an-Numayri from President Cyrankiewicz appealing for a halt to the "policy of persecutions." Similarly, Prague radio on the 28th said President Svoboda had sent an-Numayri a message "on the matter of saving the lives of Sudanese patriots," and the Czechoslovak trade unions have likewise protested. Calling for an end to the "repressions," the Czechoslovak party daily RUDE PRAVO on the 28th, according to CTK, declared that Czechoslovakia could hardly be accused of being motivated by anything but good will in its attitude toward the current "tragic events," and it recalled that its stand toward Sudan and the Middle East problem had been "appreciated" in the joint communique on an-Numayri's visit to Czechoslovakia in May 1970. And the Slovak trade union daily PRACA on the same day observed that the socialist countries "have been important allies and supporters" of Sudan and their concern over the situation is motivated by "deep anxieties" over the country's fate.

In what is apparently Romania's first comment on the situation, SCINTEIA on the 28th published an "editorial note" expressing "consternation" with regard to the "persecution and oppression" of communists in Sudan but refraining from criticizing the Sudanese authorities. Like other European communist comment, the paper declared, according to AGERPRES' report, that the events in Sudan could please only imperialism, and it stressed the importance of the unity of communists and all "democratic, patriotic militants" as the chief guarantee of the struggle for consolidation of independence and attainment of the peoples' progress. AGERPRES also reported that the Romanian trade union confederation had sent a telegram to an-Numayri demanding an end to the bloodshed. A GDR trade union statement has also voiced "indignation" at 'Ahmad ash-Shaykh's "murder," and

Belgrade's POLITIKA, as reported by TANJUG on the 26th, mildly observed that Arab political stability cannot be insured by large-scale reprisals. The paper found it noteworthy that as-Sadat "is already rumored to be 'suggesting' to an-Numayri to refrain from his unacceptable communist witchhunt." The Yugoslav trade union council, according to TANJUG on the 27th, has protested to the Sudanese Government with a condemnation of the reprisals. Yugoslavia is the only country reported to have extended congratulations to an-Numayri on "crushing the mutiny," according to Omdurman radio on the 25th. There is no confirmation of this report from Yugoslav media.

Peking's only report, an NCNA dispatch datelined Khartoum on the 26th, factually describes developments but manages to suggest approval of the recovery of power by the "Sudanese Government headed by an-Numayri" from the "coup clique" composed of "some Sudanese officers" led by al-'Ata. NCNA recalls that the latter was removed from the Revolution Command Council last November. The dispatch makes no mention of the arrests and executions in the wake of the 22 July counter coup.

#### OBSERVER ARTICLE, TASS STATEMENT HIGHLIGHT PROTEST CAMPAIGN

Moscow's voluminous campaign protesting the "bloody terror" in Sudan and the execution of three leading Sudanese Communist Party (SCP) members gained momentum after the release of the 27 July TASS statement, with reports of protest meetings throughout the Soviet Union and statements by Soviet public organizations. Concurrently, TASS continues to carry terse reports stating that "reprisals continue" in Sudan, briefly noting further arrests and prison sentences and ministerial changes. The first press comment comes on the 30th in an "Observer" article published in both PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA which objected to "imperialist" allegations that the 19 July coup was directed from Moscow, and first raised the question of future Soviet-Sudanese relations. A second TASS statement, on 31 July, which revealed that the Soviet leaders had sent protests to Sudanese Chairman an-Numayri on the 25th and 26th, complained of "unfriendly acts" against Soviet representatives in Sudan, and went beyond the Observer article in asking whether the Sudanese leadership wished to maintain friendly relations or "push the matter to their curtailment and possibly disruption."

There is as yet no monitored reaction from Soviet or Bulgarian media to Khartoum's diplomatic moves: an-Numayri's 31 July ultimatum to the Soviet ambassador to end Soviet attacks on his regime within 48 hours, as reported in an interview with an-Numayri in the 1 August London OBSERVER; Omdurman radio's 1 August announcement that the Sudanese ambassador to the USSR and Bulgaria was being withdrawn; and the 2 August Omdurman announcement that the Bulgarian ambassador and the Soviet embassy counselor had been declared personae non gratae. According to a MIDDLE EAST NEWS

AGENCY (MENA) report from Khartoum on the 3d, a Sudanese Foreign Ministry official said the two were expelled because they were in contact with the 19 July coup leaders. The official also reportedly said that the recall of the Sudanese ambassador "does not absolutely mean that we have requested or will request the Soviet Union to withdraw its ambassador."

OBSERVER ARTICLE, The PRAVDA-IZVESTIYA Observer article takes  
TASS STATEMENT several tacks in approaching the Sudanese developments, suggesting concern that the SCP will be "completely liquidated" and that "anticommunist repression" may spread to other Arab countries, defending the history and role of the SCP, reacting somewhat defensively to "imperialist" allegations of Soviet collusion in the 19 July abortive coup, proclaiming Moscow's credentials as a supporter of the Arabs, and bringing up for the first time the question of the effect of the Sudan events on bilateral relations.

Observer proclaims strict Soviet observance of the policy of noninterference in the internal affairs of Arab states. But at the same time the article somewhat contradictorily states that the Soviet people are not indifferent to the destinies of the fighters against imperialism, and "no one should have any illusions in this respect." And Observer, broaching the question of state relations, finds it "strange, to say the least," that "certain Sudanese leaders" should declare that the reprisals against communists will not influence the close Soviet-Sudanese relations. These themes are replayed in followup propaganda.

The second TASS statement on Sudan in five days underscores throughout the views of "Soviet leading circles" while disclosing representations to an-Numayri on 25 and 26 July appealing for an end to harsh sentences on Sudanese "public leaders" and protesting "unfriendly actions" against Soviet representatives in Sudan. The Observer article had foreshadowed the revelation of the Soviet leaders' appeals in noting "numerous calls of the Soviet leaders" to the Sudanese authorities and, like the TASS statement, complaining that these appeals went unheeded.

According to the TASS statement, Podgornyy's appeal against harsh sentences, in a message on the 25th, was followed by a statement by "the Soviet leaders" on the 26th conveyed through the Soviet ambassador in Khartoum, which "emphatically" appealed to an-Numayri not to resort to extreme measures and professed not to understand the sentencing and execution "even of those who were not directly involved" in the 19 July events. TASS complains that these appeals went unheeded; Sudanese trade union leader Ahmad ash-Shaykh and SCP leaders Garang and Mahjub fell victim to the "bloody reign of terror," it says, adding that the CPSU and the Soviet people "angrily denounce" these "cruel measures." (Podgornyy's appeal preceded Ahmad ash-Shaykh's execution by one day; Garang and Mahjub were executed on the 27th and 28th.)

TASS conveys the impression that the second representation dealt primarily with bilateral relations, noting that the Soviet leaders' statement emphasized that the USSR "does not intend" to interfere in Sudanese internal affairs but that at the same time it called attention to "certain actions" of Sudanese authorities harming Soviet-Sudanese "good relations." They had in view, TASS reveals, "unfriendly actions against Soviet representatives in Sudan, damage to property, threats and acts of violence against Soviet officials in Khartoum." In light of such "provocative acts," TASS adds, the question naturally arises as to whether the Sudanese leadership is willing to maintain friendly relations or to push the matter to "their curtailment and possibly disruption." Maintaining and developing Soviet-Sudanese relations can only be accomplished if the leaderships of both countries work to this end, TASS declares.

While Observer claims that imperialist circles, wishing the anticommunist hysteria to take an anti-Soviet direction, assert that the "so-called 'movement of 19 July' was allegedly directed from Moscow," the TASS statement says that in Sudan "as beyond its borders there are forces"--unspecified--who would like to shift the responsibility "for some or other domestic events" onto the Soviet Union.

OTHER MOSCOW COMMENT      Still another elite statement--the communique on the 2 August meeting in Crimea of Soviet party and government leaders with party leaders from East Europe (except Romania) and Mongolia--expressed "grave alarm" in connection with the "ruthless terror" against the SCP and other democratic organizations in Sudan. Typifying Soviet and East European propaganda protests, the statement "strongly condemned" the "lawlessness and arbitrariness" of the Sudanese authorities which are "exploited by the forces of imperialism and reaction against the interests of the Sudanese people." Broadcast comment in Arabic has stressed this theme, charging imperialism and Israel with exploiting the Sudan events to split the Arab anti-imperialist front and drive a wedge between the Arabs and the Soviet Union. A broadcast in Arabic on the 3d pegged to the Crimea meeting stresses the socialist countries' past and present support of the Arab cause, pointedly noting that the Arabs realize what it means to have a dispute with the USSR, for without the strong support of the socialist countries against Israel "they would be compelled to resort to the colonialists."

Minimal attention to Assistant Secretary Sisco's current talks in Israel brings up Sudan along the same lines: A Volskiy domestic service commentary on the 3d, for example, charges Washington and Tel Aviv with trying to split the Arab front as well as impair Arab-Soviet relations. And he recalls the statement in the CPSU-Arab Socialist Union (ASU) communique on Ponomarev's 20-30 July visit to Egypt on the dangers of anticommunism. This passage in the communique--clearly initiated by the Soviets in light of the Sudanese developments--says that

anticommunism serves only the interests of imperialism and reaction, and it claims that attempts to spread anticommunism are aimed at splitting the ranks of the Arab fighters against imperialism, Zionism, and Israeli aggression.

REPORTS ON Soviet media have extensively publicized  
ARAB REACTION world-wide protests, primarily from foreign CPs and East European and international front organizations. But there is a noticeable dearth of reports on Arab reaction, Moscow selectively publicizing criticism from such predictable sources as the Arab CPs, Lebanese leftists, and some Arab trade unions. Staying clear of the Iraqi-Sudanese dispute in the wake of the 19 July events, Moscow apparently has failed to mention Baghdad assaults on an-Numayri.

CPYRGHT The only criticism heard to emanate from the UAR--a statement by the executive council of the UAR General Federation of Workers, expressing "shock" at the "bloody incidents" and arrests of trade union leaders--was reported by the MIDDLE EAST NEWS AGENCY on 1 August and picked up by TASS the following day. (Cairo's domestic service interrupted its normal programming on the 2d for an announcement that "some foreign agencies" had reported a decision issued by the workers federation, and that President as-Sadat had ordered an immediate investigation. The announcement added that the UAR fully supports the Sudanese 25 May revolution and "rejects any form of interference in the domestic affairs of fraternal Sudan.") Moscow has naturally ignored favorable Libyan and Egyptian comment, such as AL-AHRAM's editorial on the 24th greeting the Sudanese people's "victory" and the return of an-Numayri, or Qadhdhafi's defense of the Khartoum executions in his 1 August press conference.

CPYRGHT OTHER BLOC  
REACTION Soviet media have chastised Peking for its 'eloquent silence' on the "bloody terror" in Sudan, TASS on the 30th noting that according to Omdurman radio an-Numayri had addressed a message to Mao expressing the conviction that Sudanese-PRC "excellent relations" would be further consolidated. A Radio Peace and Progress broadcast in Mandarin on 28 July and a Moscow broadcast to Czechoslovakia on the 30th pointed out that the sole NCNA dispatch--on 26 July--said not a word about the persecution of communists. In a speech to the armed forces on 2 August, reported by Omdurman radio on the 3d, an-Numayri expressed appreciation for messages from "the friendly PRC, dear Korea," and other states.

The DPRK and Albania have apparently maintained silence on the Sudanese events, while pointedly issuing denunciations of Jordanian "provocations" against the Palestinian guerrillas--an Albanian women's union statement on 28 July and a DPRK Foreign Ministry spokesman's statement on 2 August. The other East Europeans, Mongolia, and the DRV have all protested in various fashions and at various levels. The Bulgarian and Romanian party central committees issued declarations and the Hungarian

MTI carried an authorized statement. Bulgaria's Zhivkov, the GDR's Ulbricht, and Mongolia's Sambuu sent messages to an-Numayri, while a Tito envoy, Josip Djerdja, has had talks in Cairo and Khartoum.

#### COMMUNIST MEDIA VARY ON ROLE OF SUDAN CP IN 19 JULY COUP

Communist media, when referring at all to the 19 July abortive coup, have tended to deny SCP participation, North Vietnam alone mentioning SCP "active participation" and a Hungarian paper seemingly implying at least some party sympathy. Moscow's few references underline SCP noninvolvement, TASS even obscuring an acknowledgment by an SCP Politburo member that the party "supported" the movement.

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~~Thus TASS on 2 August briefly reported Sudanese CP Politburo member Izz ad-Din Ali 'Amir as telling the French CP daily L'HUMANITE that the Sudanese CP did not take part in the 19 July events. But it did not include his additional remark, as published in L'HUMANITE on the 2d, that the SCP supported the 19 July coup because its leaders promised to restore democratic freedoms and allow banned organizations to function, although the party, he said, has always been opposed to the military coup method. The secretary of the Sudanese CP's "section in Czechoslovakia"-- interviewed on the Prague domestic service on 30 July--also affirmed that the "revolutionary changes" of 19 July were "welcomed by all democratic forces in our country and abroad." Asked about the party's prospects now, he said the SCP was "well experienced in underground work" and he thought strong enough to continue its activities.~~

CPYRGHT

A VNA report of a 30 July NHAN DAN editorial on the Sudan "massacre" is notable for the statement that the 19 July coup "was conducted with the active participation" of workers, peasants, progressive army officers, and "members of the SCP." Broadcast excerpts of the editorial in the domestic service and in English- and French-language services failed to include this statement, as did TASS' 30 July report on the editorial. The Hungarian MACYAR NEMZET, in an article reviewed by MTI on the 28th, also seemed to hint at SCP involvement in ambiguously stating that the 19 July "putsch" was a consequence of an-Numayri's policy, "for the group of leftist officers executed in the meantime, the Sudanese Communist Party, and the mass organizations did not want to watch passively what was happening."

CPYRGHT

Other communist references to the initial coup, however, have disclaimed SCP involvement. A participant in the 1 August Moscow domestic service commentators' roundtable complained that the Sudanese leaders accused the SCP of being behind the 19 July "plotters, although the facts do not confirm this in the least." And TASS on the 28th reported the Paris FIGARO as commenting that it was doubtful that SCP Secretary General

CPYRGHT

Mahjub took personal part in planning the "purely military coup." An East Berlin commentary on the same day cautiously observed that the background and causes of the 19 July coup were "still obscure," but the Polish ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, according to PAP on the 29th, stressed that the architects of the abortive coup "were not communists at all." Similarly, French CP leader Marchais claimed in a speech reported in L'HUMANITE on the 29th that SCP head Mahjub had shown that the SCP "had never participated in any plot."



# **WORLD PRESS SPOTLIGHTS SUDAN'S "HIDDEN WAR"**

**Vol. 2**

**A**FRICANS FOR  
**E**NDING  
**G**ENOCIDE  
**I**N  
**S**UDAN

# Uganda Argus

No. 5058 40 Cents

Kampala, Tuesday, April 6, 1971

Registered at the G.P.O.  
as a Newspaper

## Letter to CPYRGHT Kaunda

A Southern Sudanese insurgent leader has sent an open letter to President Kaunda of Zambia, current President of the Organisation of African Unity, asking for help, the Zambia Daily Mail reported in Lusaka.

The newspaper carried what it said was the text of the letter from a Colonel Joseph Lagu, adding that it had been sent a copy.

The letter said: "We have endured many times more deaths through murder, repression and disease than all the African freedom movements combined.

"And yet the Organisation of African Unity will not even allow our story to be heard in its councils."

The letter alleged that Russia and Egypt were helping to put down the rebels in the Southern Sudan and claimed that "Soviet tanks with Russian drivers are rumbling through our villages, killing and maiming our defenceless people....."

AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN  
April 1-30, 1971

CPYRGHT

Letter to President Kaunda

The *Zambia Daily Mail* reported on April 5th that a Southern Sudanese insurgent leader had sent an open letter to President Kaunda, current President of the OAU, asking for help. The newspaper carried what it said was text of the letter, from Colonel Joseph Lagu, and added that it had also been sent a copy. The letter said "we have endured many times more deaths through murder, repression and disease than all the African freedom movements combined. And yet the Organisation of African Unity will not even allow our story to be heard in its Councils."

The letter said that the Soviet Union and the UAR were helping to put down the rebels in the Southern Sudan and claimed that "Soviet tanks with Russian drivers are rumbling through our villages, killing and maiming our defenceless people."

MONDAY, APRIL 5, 1971

# SUDANESE REBELS WRITE AN OPEN LETTER TO KK

CPYRGHT

**THE Bantus of Sudan have been at war with the Government of Sudan for the last 15 years. The Bantus want to secede from Sudan and set up their own government. Their military wing is called the Anya Nya. This week one of the Anya Nya commanders, Colonel Joseph Lagu, has written an open letter to President Kaunda in his capacity as chairman of the Organisation of African Unity asking for help. A copy of the letter was sent to the Zambia Daily Mail and is printed here in full.**

## YOUR EXCELLENCY,

We Southern Sudanese, living under extreme repression in our homeland or as refugees in friendly African countries appeal to Your Excellency to become aware of our plight and raise your benevolent voice in our behalf.

We turn to Your Excellency as a true friend of the oppressed to speak out for us in international councils. Will not Your Excellency, who has spoken for peoples under the colonial yoke throughout Africa, place before the world our story – a story of shame and misery, a story of a people who have suffered half million deaths because their skin and their culture is different from their northern compatriots. The comparison though vile must be made: we have endured many times more deaths through murder, repression and disease than all the African freedom movements combined. And yet the Organisation of African Unity will not even allow our story to be heard in its councils.

Our Gethsemane, cruel though,

it has been, was made infinitely more painful by the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, which have undertaken to assist and direct out Sudanese and Egyptian tormentors in the genocide being conducted at our expense. Even as we write to you, Soviet tanks with Russian drivers are rumbling through our villages, killing and maiming our defenceless people and our livestock with their cannon and machineguns, burning our homes, churches, mosques and schools with their flamethrowers and crushing our garden plots under their bogies.

MI-21 jets with Soviet pilots overhead smash our bodies and our buildings with their bombs, searing our flesh and our soul with their napalm. MI-8 helicopters with Soviet pilots, navigators and gunners strafe and rocket our men and boys and, when they are dead, leave our women and girls to be raped and mutilated by the Sudanese soldiers.

Besides being killed by Soviet arms daily, thousands die from disease and famine. Nearly six newly born babies out of ten die from malaria and a host each year from malnutrition as a result of shortages in vitamins giving foods. Thousands perish from exposure to bad weather. Hospitals and schools have been either destroyed, closed or turned into military barracks. The entire population is a dying one, their conditions are pathetic. They have no permanent shelter, but hide in caves and in infested trees and caves.

When our people flee the Sudan to live a pitiable existence as refugees in neighbouring countries, the Sudan troops under the tutelage of their Soviet masters, well experienced in suppression of people's uprisings, cross the international borders and massacre our people on non-Sudanese soil. Aside from the bestial inhumanity these acts reveal, they are affronts

to international law and morality. And the world does not seem to know or care that these criminal acts have been going on for 15 years and are still continuing. The only difference now is that the Russians are aiding and abetting this Sudanese genocide.

Your Excellency may we ask how we know the Russians are in the Southern Sudan helping the government and their Egyptian allies? We have seen them moving about in the streets of Juba where they are based, flying the MI-8 helicopters and firing at us the rockets and guns of these helicopters. We have heard them communicating with each other in their tanks and in their planes. We have heard the screams of wounded Russian pilots. We have buried the bodies of Russian airmen who perished with their helicopters.

Our poor land does not have the oil of Angola, the chrome of Zimbabwe or the diamonds of Namibia. No imperialists covet our meagre resources. All we ask of life is to be allowed to live it. We do not seek foreign arms, money or men. All we beg from the rest of Africa and the world is the recognition that we are human beings, not animals, and the right to live as human beings. Is this an unjust demand?

Your Excellency, who is a peaceful man, may question why we do not surrender our arms and co-operate with the Sudanese government. We have attempted to do so many times. William Deng, an illustrious scholar and statesman chose the path of co-operation. He was shot dead by the Sudanese army shortly after his election in Tonj Central Constituency. His name is but one of scores of the most talented southerners whose choice of co-operation resulted in their murder or incarceration. Among the ordinary people, many have tried to

co-operate. They have been repaid by being slaughtered in their homes and in their churches and mosques. One example among thousands may be cited from a recent book, "Sundan, An African Tragedy," by a Norwegian journalist. Discussing a massacre of a group of communicants in a church, the author described what he saw as "the burned chapel, the wounded, the burned bones and skulls of the 50 innocent civilians, including children, murdered in cold blood." This incident took place within the last six months.

The Sudanese government and its army frequently announce so called "amnesties" under which the 500,000 Southern Sudanese refugees in neighbouring states are invited to return to the Sudan. Those who have responded to these amnesties have been massacred.

The Sudanese government and its Egyptian and Soviet masters have tried to conceal the true nature of their genocidal war in the Southern Sudan by saying that the Southern problem is one of religion. This is nonsense. Muslims, Christians of all denominations and pagans are working together against a single problem: the genocide of the Africans in the Sudan. Among the foremost guerilla generals in the Southern Sudan are the Moslems, Abdel Rahman Suli and Paul Ali Gbatala.

For what crime then are we condemned to annihilation? Whatever the crime it must be heinous, because we have paid the full measure of five hundred thousand lives for this crime. Is it because we were born black? Because we do not wish to be slave? Because we dare to assert we are men?

Will Africa and the world forever look away in the hope that we will all die out and relieve the conscience of those who pretend we do not exist? Or even worse, those who recognise our existence, but pretend we do not suffer and die? Will no one speak out in our behalf?

If but one African leader or statesman raised his voice for us, surely others would follow. But no one will be first. Therefore we must suffer in a backwash of human misery, relegated to limbo of despair, until every African man, woman and child in the Southern Sudan, no matter what his tribe, or religion, is dead. Dead from the machines of war or the concomitant horrors of starvation and disease. Is there no statesman to tell the story to the world? Not

just one man?

Do not forsake us, Excellency  
Bring our case before the OAU  
and the world. LET US BUT  
LIVE. In the name of God and  
humanism, treat us like men. FOR  
WE ARE MEN

Respectfully  
Colonel Joseph Lagu  
on behalf of the Anya Nya  
AEGIS COMMITTEE

## *Uganda's Ties With Neighbors Worsen as East African Leaders Continue to Rebuff Amin*

CPYRGHT

By CHARLES MOHR  
Special to The New York Times

JINJA, Uganda, April 25—Relations between the Government of Gen. Idi Amin and several neighboring countries have been deteriorating rapidly.

Although General Amin overthrew President Milton A. Obote three months ago in a coup d'état that was widely supported in Uganda, a number of East African left-wing leaders have refused to recognize the new Government. Today the general charged that Somalia had "spear-headed" discussions among those leaders of "joint armed action" against Uganda.

The general, a towering, muscular man who was once the heavyweight boxing champion of the army, said at a large rally in this southeastern town on Lake Victoria that such discussions had been attended by representatives of Tanzania, Zambia, Rwanda and Burundi. Mr. Obote, who during his presidency had announced policies aimed at moving Uganda "to the left," is now in exile in Tanzania.

President Amin announced that he had asked the Organization of African Unity to consider action to end the pro-longer civil war in the Sudan between the Arab-dominated Government and a black minority in the south.

This represented a significant diplomatic shift for Uganda, which is just south of the Sudan. In the past, the Ugandan Government has sought to avoid positions that would annoy the Sudanese Government, even though there is widespread sympathy here for the black rebels.

General Amin, wearing khaki and a black beret, told the crowd in a stadium that "our brothers are being burned alive" in the southern Sudan.

He said the Organization of African Unity, which embraces all African states except those governed by White minorities, had "kept quiet" about military repression by the Sudanese Government.

However, General Amin

also said that Uganda would continue to refuse to allow Sudanese refugees to "engage in hostile activity" against the Sudan from Uganda. Last week Uganda accused the Sudan of permitting Ugandan guerrillas who support Mr. Abate to train in the Sudan and of helping such guerrillas make a foray into Uganda.

He has also accused Tanzania of allowing guerrilla activity by Obote followers.

Also last week, General Amin attacked President Kenneth D. Kaunda of Zambia as "the greatest two-faced double-dealer of our Continent." Prime Minister John Vorster of South Africa had said that President Kaunda had engaged in secret diplomatic contacts with South Africa while publicly attacking the South African Government for its racial policies. President Kaunda denied any secret contacts.

Repeating the charges today, General Amin said that President Kaunda had encouraged others to fight South Africa while seeking secret negotiations so that "when war comes Zambia is safe and others will be attacked."

Such charges seem to reflect General Amin's anger over President Kaunda's sympathy for Mr. Obote and attempts to deny Uganda's Government a seat in the Organization of African Unity.

THE SUNDAY STAR  
Washington, D. C., April 4, 1971

# The Stubborn Struggle for Black Power in Sudan

CPYRGHT

By DAVID ROBISON

Special to The Star

The night I arrived in Southern Sudan, 80 black guerrilla soldiers were grouped around their fires, singing one of their popular songs: "Three persons Anyanya, killed Arabs with bows and arrows; the rest started running. In the beginning we told you; What did we tell you, oh Arabs? We said the birds would eat you, The birds will fly over you, Northern youth; Your country is eaten by vultures."

After each song, the soldiers belated the "Freedom" cry of Kenya's aged leader, Jomo Kenyatta, used when the Mau-Mau were fighting the British for independence: "Harambee, Harambee."

The group was led by Rolf Steiner, an ex-Legionnaire and former Biafra mercenary, who had entered the bush 10 months before to try to upgrade the woefully inadequate combat skills of the Anyanya (pronounced An-YAHN-ya.) This time he was fighting without pay, since no country cared enough to pay him. The war had entered its ninth year, but the Anyanya—about 8,000 armed African soldiers fighting the Arab-led Sudan army of 35,000 men—had never been skilled and disciplined enough to make their guerrilla war a replica of Vietnam.

Now, with Israel supplying arms to the Southern guerrillas and Russia providing its own army advisers, pilots, helicopters and bombers to the Sudan army, the virtually unknown Sudan war was taking on a new character.

I went with this unit when it attacked the Sudan army post at Kajo Kaji, close to the Nile near the Sudan-Uganda border. Of the three platoons Steiner had trained for this attack, one never even arrived at the starting point because its major went off to another headquarters. His men remained in their base camp despite strict marching orders.

The other two platoons marched to within three miles of their opponents, and at midnight left to infiltrate in pitch blackness to within 65 yards of the Arab barracks. I went with the second platoon and Steiner, crossing and recrossing streams and through elephant

grass, until at 4 a.m. we were utterly lost. The guide, an elderly sergeant, had led reconnaissance patrols perfectly in the past week. We learned later that he had relatives living among the civilians at the post.

## Three Die

It was too late to position the second platoon. Promptly at six, the first platoon launched its attack, succeeding with bazookas in burning down all but one of the buildings, but losing three killed and much of their precious ammunition.

Steiner aimed to try again a week later, but 19 of his 23 officers mutilated, refusing to fight again so soon and so close to the enemy. They said they were used to ambushing; left unsaid was that the Anyanya's uncoordinated ambushes have never hurt the Sudan army very badly. Steiner began again, training a younger group of officer cadets, telling them: "Our time is still coming."

But Steiner's time is apparently up. His Anyanya had cooperated with the Ugandan army under Gen. Idi Amin, but when Steiner went back into Uganda for rest, he was seized by President Milton Obote's special police and cast into Kampala prison for three months, without charges. Just before Gen. Amin overthrew Obote in January, Steiner was handed over secretly to the Sudan government, though no extradition treaty existed between the two countries. Steiner is expected to go on trial for his life shortly in Khartoum.

The unsuccessful attack and Steiner's capture seemed typical for the Anyanya. The Africans in Southern Sudan seem never to have had much luck. From 1820 to 1898, they were victims of the slave trade. An estimated 2 million Africans from Sudan were carried off in chains during those years and sold in the slave markets of Khartoum and Cairo.

Beginning in 1898, the Southerners were sheltered by British rule. The Arabs in the North were kept out for the next 50 years, and Anglican and Italian Catholic mission

schools brought education, English and Christianity to the South. By 1956, however, North and South Sudan were merged by Britain into independent Sudan, despite an armed Southern revolt in 1955 against union with the North.

## Civilian Suffering

During the last 15 years, reports of unrest, fighting and vast civilian suffering in the South have failed to arouse outside interest.

Nineteen-seventy began as the Southerners' good year. Israel began airdropping arms to the Anyanya in September 1969 and has continued with almost weekly drops of arms and medicine since then. Southerners walked to training camps in eastern Equatoria province from all over the South, often hundreds of miles through undulating savannah, bush and swamplands.

Nearly once a week, an unmarked DC-3 circled low over the camps in the night. Out parachuted Russian and British arms, including machine guns, World War II rifles and bazookas, which Israel captured from Egypt in the Six-Day War.

Besides fresh arms and rudimentary training by four Israelis in the bush, the Southerners were bolstered by alliances with non-Arab blacks in the North. Sudan's 15 million population is actually divided into 6 million black Southerners, 3 million non-Arab Northern blacks, and 6 million Northern Arabs. Together, the blacks are a majority, though a majority without power because the Arabs dominate Sudan's government, army, economy and social structure.

The Northern blacks and the Southerners joined in a black-power alliance in 1970, demanding majority control of Sudan's institutions, a demand which is anathema to the Arabs. The blacks plotted underground, having produced at least half of the nine unsuccessful coup attempts against the regime of Gen. Gaafar Nimerir in the past 20 months. The Southerners hope that their black-power strategy may work, even if it requires many years of continued guerrilla fighting.

**Bomb Hospital**

Now, for the first time in Soviet history, Russians are fighting and bombing Africans. In the past six months, according to U.S. intelligence sources in Washington, 100 to 200 Russian army advisers have been directly planning and participating in the counter guerrilla warfare operations of the Sudan army against the Southerners.

A larger group of Russians, 300 or more, have piloted and serviced Russian helicopters and bombers supporting combat operations in the South, according to American intelligence specialists. Up to 1,000 Russian military men are estimated to be supporting the Sudan army, counting Soviet army advisers, pilots, ground crew and missile technicians.

In the North, at Port Sudan on the Red Sea, the Soviets are building a naval base and installing SAM-2 antiaircraft missiles to defend the area. The missiles were presumably detected by U.S. electronic surveillance, since Air Force sources state that the presence of the Russian missiles at Port Sudan is a certainty.

The Soviet aim is believed by Washington to be two-fold: first, to establish a strongly-defended base for Soviet naval power to be projected into the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, and second, to bottle up the Israelis in the Red Sea area. The Russians are thought to want to influence Africa, continue to dominate the Arab world and leapfrog beyond the Mediterranean and the NATO system. But first they must secure their base in Sudan, according to this analysis, by aiding the Sudan army to crush the Southern guerrillas.

German correspondent Rudolph Chimelli flew in an MI-8 helicopter gunship from Juba to Meridi in South Sudan. He wrote in Sued-deutsch Zeitung, Jan. 22:

"The helicopter crew consisted of a Sudanese air force officer as nominal captain, a Soviet copilot in blue overalls who directed the flight, a Soviet navigator, an Egyptian navigator and two soldiers armed with heavy automatic rifles."

Chimelli reported that "helicopters flown by Russians played a decisive role in a battle by a Sudanese brigade that lasted 25 days." In Juba, the commanding officer of this brigade described the Soviet helicopters as "the only means the army has for carrying out such an operation." He acknowledged that the Sudan army has become dependent on helicopters because in all of the South's 350,000 square miles, there are only a few dirt roads.

The battle described to Chimelli occurred at Morta, an Anyanya base near the Uganda border. According to eyewitnesses who reached Uganda in December, the Russian helicopters were used repeatedly to rocket the Anyanya and to bring soldiers and supplies to the Sudanese army units. The bombings caused an estimated 1,000 casualties, mostly in surrounding villages.

About 35,000 Southerners were reportedly made homeless by recent fighting and bombing around Bor in Upper Nile. A 45-bed government hospital in the bush at Magwi, in eastern Equatoria, was bombed and destroyed on Jan. 25, after which a Sudan army patrol seized the medicines and hospital equipment.

U.S. defense analysts believe that the Russians will not easily withdraw from this war. They assert that the Southern Sudan is too large to be controlled effectively by the Sudan army. The Egyptians might intervene with their 5,000 troops now stationed around Khartoum to protect the Nimeiri regime, but without changing the balance.

The war is increasingly seen as an extension of the Middle East conflict. Barring an Arab-Israeli settlement and an accommodation between Sudan's Arabs and Africans, the Russians in Sudan are expected to continue being drawn into fighting the Africans in the South, as they have already done.

Though the scale of Russian activity in Sudan is relatively small compared to the present U.S. role in Indochina, it is being compared in Washington to the beginnings of the American intervention in support of South Vietnam in 1960-61.

Khartoum is as unstable as Saigon used to be, with nine coup attempts reportedly made by Gen. Nimeiri's opponents since he assumed power. The Anyanya guerrillas have shown themselves willing to fight for another decade if necessary.

On the other hand, the Africans in the South have not become effective guerrilla fighters and they are now facing modern helicopter operations backed by the Russians.

\* \* \* \*

The price of the conflict is evident throughout the bush. In all the villages I visited in Equatoria province, the level of disease and starvation was clearly the highest in Black Africa today. Foreign doctors who deal with Southern refugees estimate that one Southern child in four reaches the age of 15,

double the mortality rate of any other African region.

At night, the villages reverberated with hacking, wheezing, barking coughs, evidence of the epidemics of bronchitis, pneumonia and often tuberculosis that afflict the Southerners. No medicine or health care has reached them for years. No

relief group dares to ship medicines illegally across Sudan's borders.

As I left the bush, a 60-year-old sergeant held up his tattered shirt. He asked for \$10, enough to send his son to school in Uganda for a year. Except for clandestine schools run by the Anyanya, but lacking paper, pencils, books and desks, there was no education. He said: "We are the land of nobody. I remain nothing."

## Sudan — en afrikansk tragedie

FORLAGT AV

H. ASCHEHOUG & CO. (W. NYGAARD)

OSLO 1970

CPYRGHT

*Ysnona Lueto*

Den åtte år gamle Beda fra landsbyen Banja vrir seg i smerte. I går ble han operert av den amerikanske legen på misjonsstasjonen i Aba. En kule har gått gjennom nederste del av ryggen og har tatt med seg mesteparten av låret på veien ut. En annen kule har gått gjennom hodet. Den er fremdeles der inne. Den satt for dypt inne i hjernen til at legen kunne fjerne den. Beda er lam på venstre side. Kanskje vil han overleve, kanskje er han alt død. Ett av ofrene ved massakrene i Banja.

I den lille sykestuen ligger hans mor. Hun har fått ti kuler gjennom begge bein, ti arabiske kuler da hun fortvilet prøvde å flykte sammen med to barn. Den lille datteren står hjelpeløs midt i rommet.

«Piva,» klynker Beda. Noen heller vann fra en kaffekjele inn i munnen hans. Hele rommet er fylt av hans klagende ynk — og av stanken fra betente sår.

Jeg står ved enden av Bedas seng. Jeg prøver å fange hans blikk. Bare det ene øyet er synlig. Det andre er skjult av bandasjene. Det feberfylte, slappe blikket sier meg ingenting. Men med ett forstår jeg det meningsløse i denne konflikten. Jeg vil komme til Bedas landsby. Jeg vil fortelle verden om denne skjenselsgjerningen.

Bedas klagende stemme klinger ennå i ørene mine da vi tidlig om morgenen drar ut i jungelen. Sammen med Anya-Nya-folk skal vi ta oss fram til Banja og selv se om det er sant det de overlevende har fortalt.

De har fortalt oss følgende:

Det er morgen i den lille landsbyen Banja. Det er torsdag 26. juli 1970. Sola er forlengst oppe. I dag har det ikke regnet. Alt er normalt, innbyggerne tar fatt på dagens arbeid. Det er noen grønnsaker som skal innhøstes, noe kasava og noen jordnøtter. Det er ikke mye, men nok til at livet kan gå videre. Buskapen har Anya-Nya eller araberne tatt, men folket i Banja må eksistere videre trass i at det egentlige livsgrunnlaget er tatt fra dem. De kryper ut av sine små stråhytter og



går i gang. Noen vasker klær, barna leker fredelig rundt hyttene. Bare en liten gutt opplever en dag utenom det normale. I dag er han syk. Så syk at moren mener presten bør be for ham. Ja, hun inviterer alle i landsbyen til en bønnestund i kirken eller kapellet, Ysuona Luetu. Langsamt samles de, en håndfull mennesker for å sende en bønn opp til Den Allmektige Gud. Misjonærene har fortalt at Han kan gjøre gutten frisk igjen. Kateketen leser fra Bibelen, og innbyggerne er samlet i bønn. Kirken er ikke stor, den kan vel romme en 80 mennesker under det lave stråtak.

Brått stopper bønneropene i kirken. Det blir så stille der inne. Utenfor hører de ukjente lyder. Araberne er der! Araberne er kommet til Banja. Alle vet hva det betyr. Patruljen består av i alt 41 mann med automatvåpen. De stormer inn i kirken, binder kateketen med hendene på ryggen til en skrøpelig stol. En annen gruppe raser rundt fra hytte til hytte. De bruker ikke gevær, kniven gjør samme nytten når målet bare er å drepe for fote, dessuten sparer man da ammunisjon.

Innbyggerne, de som fremdeles lever, blir ført inn i kapellet. Langsamt blir de bundet til stolene med et to-tre centimeters tykt tau. Noen skriker, noen gråter, andre ber. Det er for det meste kvinner og barn, men også noen eldre menn som i kirken Ysuona Luetu venter på en skrekkelig død.

En offiser gir ordre. Det siste han sier før han går ut av den lave døren, er: Nå skyter vi dere i deres gudshus, la nå deres Gud komme og redde dere! Han sier det med et hatsk, ironisk smil.

Og så: patruljen har tatt oppstilling på den ene siden av kirken. Hundrevis av kuler spruter ut av automatvåpnene. De tømmer et magasin eller to hver. Kvelende rop i smerte lyder der inne fra. Ikke alle er døde. Sett fyr på! lyder ordren. Etter få sekunder står kirken i lys lue. Man kan nesten ikke se flammen, for sollyset overtoner alt. Bare en svak, grå røyk stiger opp og blir ført bort i den svale brisen inn over det høye gresset i jungelen. Snart lyder ingen stemmer mer innenfra. De alle døde. Det var femti i alt.

14

Noen av innbyggerne hadde gjemt seg og ble ikke ført til kirken. De prøver nå å flykte. Araberne sender salve etter salve etter dem til de forsvinner i gresset. Noen forblør der ute og blir aldri funnet, noen – i alt 14 – greier å ta seg ned til byen Aba til sykehuset. De fortalte oss om Banja.

Araberne er ferdige. De kan trekke seg tilbake til forlegningen. Anya-Nya er på vei til Banja: trommene har spilt telefonens rolle igjen. De kommer for sent. Etter endt død slapper de 41 araberne av i forlegningen, trygt beskyttet av panserbiler. De drikker øl og brennevin, de røyker og er i godt humør. I dag fikk vi da has på en bunt slaver! En ung pike som er forlovet med en av soldatene, flykter. Hun holder det ikke ut. Hun har fortalt om festen.

#### Banja

Kaptein Michael har tatt på seg oppdraget å føre oss til Banja. «Dere skal selv få se, så kan ikke araberne karakterisere det som ondssinnet Anya-Nya-propaganda. Ta bilder, vis kapellet, vis de sårede, vis de oppbrente knoklene og hjerneskalene til uskyldige sivilister. Dette er folkemord. Det har vi høvdet lenge, men verden har ikke trodd oss. Dere skal selv se, dere skal selv fortelle.»

Han er ung. Han måtte slutte på realskolen da han var 16. Siden gikk han inn i Anya-Nya. Nå krysser han grensen fra tid til annen. Han har fått billharzia der inne i jungelen. Han har lyst å fortsette skolegangen og kanskje studere ved universitetet. Jeg ser ingen muligheter for den unge, begavete mannen fra Wau i Bar el Ghazal. Nicholas deler skjebne med tusenvis av andre landsmenn. De har fått ødelagt sitt liv, denne generasjonen kommer aldri til å få oppleve et moderne Sør-Sudan. Noen faller i krigen, noen dør av sult, andre bukker under av alvorlige sykdommer. Likevel står Nicholas der med et åpent, optimistisk smil foran oss:

«Jeg hater araberne, jeg ville aldri kunne stå ansikt til ansikt med en araber.»

Dette hatet hos Nicholas er representativt for negrene i sør. Det er vanskelig å si hva som må til for at hatet skal forsvinne.

«Jeg er villig til å kjempe til jeg dør, og jeg kommer til å gjøre det,» sier Nicholas. Jeg tror han er etterretningsoffiser i Anya-Nya, men han røper ikke sin funksjon de 14 dagene vi er sammen. De har lært, enda så unge de er. I filler går de til fronten som er overalt. Det er dager da de ikke har mat, de kjemper i desperasjon og hat for en rettferdig sak.

«Vi er glemt av verden. Kom ikke og si at dere ikke visste. Dere vet så altfor godt,» roper Nicholas. «Vi trenger hjelp og det fort. Hvorfor snakker dere alltid om Sør-Afrika? Tenk heller på oss! Araberne driver folkemord, det er ingen tvil lenger. Men bare vent: vi skal nok få hjelp fra visse utenlandske makter. Den dagen er araberne ferdige. Kanskje ser du meg aldri igjen, om noen dager råtner jeg kanskje opp der inne,» han nikker i retning av bush-en. «Jeg faller for en god sak, men aller helst ville jeg studere og bli noe nyttigere!»

Clement er 16 år gammel. For et par år siden gikk han på skolen i Torit. Etter middagspausen tar elevene plass i den primitive skolestua. Plutselig er araberne der. De skyter vilt inn i klasserommet. Instinktivt kaster Clement seg mot glassruten. Han redder livet, kameratene dør. Nå løper han mot bush-en. En eldre mann kommanderer ham til å dra i retning Uganda. Det er flere dagers marsj. Clement vil gjerne tilbake til foreldrene og 6 søsken, men mannen sier at det betyr den visse død. Clements lange vandring tar til.

«I dag går jeg på skole i Uganda. Men jeg lengter tilbake til Torit. Hvor er det blitt av foreldrene mine? Hvor er mine søstre og brødre? Jeg vet ikke, kanskje lever de, kanskje er de for alltid borte. Jeg har mistet ett øye, med det andre skal jeg en dag se igjen mitt land! Hvis konflikten er over om et par år, vil jeg bli politiker, hvis ikke, tar jeg også geværet i hånd. Da skal jeg kjempe. Jeg hater araberne.»

By Per Oyvind Heradstveit

(From: Sudan -- en Afrikansk Tragedie, Aschehoug Publishing Co.,  
Oslo, 1970, pp 13-15, 92-93)

CPYRGHT

Ysuona Luetu

Eight-year-old Beda from the village of Banja writhes in pain. Yesterday he was operated on by the American doctor at the mission station in Aba. A bullet went through the lowest part of his back and took most of his thigh off when it re-emerged. Another bullet went through his head. It is still in there. It was too deeply imbedded in the brain for the doctor to remove it. Beda is paralyzed on his left side. Perhaps he will survive, perhaps he is just about dead. One of the victims of the massacres in Banja.

His mother lies in the little ward. She got ten bullets through both legs, ten Arabian bullets when she desperately tried to flee with two children. Her little daughter stands helplessly in the middle of the room.

"Piva," cries Beda. Someone pours water from a coffeepot into his mouth. The whole room is filled with his cries -- and the smell of infected wounds.

I stand at the end of Beda's bed, trying to catch his eye. Only one eye can see. The other is hidden by bandages. The feverish, apathetic glance tells me nothing. But suddenly I see how meaningless this conflict is. I will go to Beda's village. I will tell the world of this infamous deed.

Beda's plaintive voice is still ringing in my ears when we go out into the jungle early in the morning. We will go to Banja with the Anya-Nya people and see for ourselves if what the survivors have told us is true.

This is what they told us.

It is morning in the little village of Banja. It is Thursday, 26 July 1970. The sun has been up for some time. There has been no rain. Everything is normal, the inhabitants are working at the day's tasks. Some vegetables have to be harvested, some cassavas and some peanuts. It isn't much, but enough to sustain life. The Anya-Nya or the Arabs have taken their herds, but the people in Banja must go on living even though their real basis for existing has been taken from them. They creep out of their small straw huts and go to work. Some wash clothes, children play peacefully around the huts. One little boy has a day that is not a normal one. He is sick today. So sick that his mother thinks the priest should pray for him. She invites everyone in the village to a prayer meeting in the church or chapel, Ysuona Luetu. Slowly they gather, a handful of people sending up a prayer to Almighty God. The missionaries have said He can make the boy well again. The curate reads from the Bible and the inhabitants unite in prayer. The church is not large, it can hold about 80 people beneath the low straw roof.

Suddenly the prayers in the church stop. It is very quiet. Outside they hear unfamiliar sounds. The Arabs are there! The Arabs have come to Banja. Everyone knows what that means. The patrol consists of 41 men in all, with automatic weapons. They storm into the church and tie the curate with his hands behind his back to a fragile chair. Another group storms from hut to hut. They do not use

their rifle. It is good when the goal is to kill slowly -- besides, it saves ammunition.

The inhabitants, the ones who are still alive, are brought into the chapel. Slowly they are tied to chairs with a rope 2- or 3-centimeters thick. Some scream, some cry, others beg. For the most part, they are women and children, but there are some older men in the church too, awaiting a frightful death in Ysuona Luetto.

An officer gives the command. The last he says before he goes out through the low door is: "We're shooting you in your house of worship, let your God come and save you!" He says it with a spiteful, ironic smile.

Next the patrol has taken position on the other side of the church. Hundreds of bullets spray out of the automatic weapons. They empty one or two magazines apiece. Stifled cries of pain are heard in there. Not all are dead. "Light it!" comes the order. A few seconds later the church is in flames. It is hard to see the flames, because the sunlight overpowers everything. A gray wisp of smoke curls up and is blown by the breeze over the high grass in the jungle. Soon there is no sound of voices from inside. They are all dead. There were 50 altogether.

Some of the inhabitants had hidden and were not taken into the church. Now they try to flee. The Arabs fire round after round at them until they disappear in the grass. Some bleed to death out there and are never found, some -- 14 in all -- manage to get to the hospital in Aba. They told us about Banja.

The Arabs are through. They can go back to their post. The Anya-Nya are on the way to Banja -- the drums have again played the role of telephone. They arrive too late. After their deed is done, the 14 Arabs relaxed at the post, securely protected by tanks. Today they brought a bunch of slaves to heel! They drink beer and brandy, they smoke and are in a good mood. A young girl who is engaged to one of the soldiers runs away. She can't stand it. She told about the party.

#### Banja

Captain Michael has taken it upon himself to lead us to Banja. "You can see for yourself, then the Arabs can't call it malicious Anya-Nya propaganda. Take pictures, show the chapel, show the wounded, show the burned bones and skulls of innocent civilians. This is genocide. We have said that for a long time, but the world has not believed us. You'll see for yourself, you will be able to tell them."

#### Nicholas

He was young. He had to leave middle school when he was 16. Later he joined the Anya-Nya. Now he crossed the border from time to time. He had caught bill-harzia in the jungle. He would have liked to continue his education and maybe study at a university. I saw no chance for this young, talented man from Wau in Far-el Ghazal to do so. Nicholas shared the fate of thousands of his countrymen. Their lives have been ruined, their generation will never see a modern Southern Sudan. Some fall in battle, some die of hunger, others succumb to serious disease. Even so, Nicholas stood before us with an open, optimistic smile on his face.

"I hate the Arabs, I would never be able to stand face to face with an Arab."

His hatred is representative of the southern tribes. It is said that if we could cause this hatred to disappear.

"I am willing to fight until I die and I will die," Nicholas said. I think he was an intelligence officer in the Anya-Nya, but he did not reveal his duties to us during the 14 days we spent together. They have learned, as young as they are. In rags, they go to the front, which is everywhere. There are days when they have no food, they fight with desperation and hatred in support of a just cause.

"We are forgotten by the world. Don't come and say you didn't know. You know all too well," Nicholas shouted. "We need help and we need it fast. Why do you always talk about South Africa? Think about us for a change! The Arabs are practicing genocide, there is no longer any doubt of that. But just wait -- we'll get help from certain foreign powers. Then the Arabs will be through. Maybe you will never see me again, I may rot up in there within a few days," he said, nodding toward the bush. "I die for a good cause, but I would rather study and become useful."

Clement was 16 years old. A few years ago, he went to school in Torit. After lunch one day, the students rested themselves in their primitive school room. Suddenly the Arabs were there. They shot at random into the classroom. Instinctively Clement threw himself out the window. He survived -- his classmates died. He ran toward the bush. An older man told him to go toward Uganda. It took several days. Clement would like to return to his parents and his six brothers and sisters, but the man told him that would mean certain death. Clement's long wandering had just begun.

"Today I go to school in Uganda. But I miss Torit. What happened to my parents? Where are my brothers and sisters? I don't know -- maybe they are alive, maybe they are gone for good. I lost one eye, but I want to see my own country some day with the other one! If the conflict is over in a few years, I will become a politician, otherwise I will take a rifle in my hands and fight. I hate the Arabs."

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March 15, 1971

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# Nation fights for its life

**Expressman reveals the truth about a secret struggle**

If there is a hell, it is here in the Southern Sudan—a wasting land, where a black people are dying.

More accurately, they are being butchered out of existence. The word for that is genocide.

*This is the work of Sudanese Government troops. And after seeing the results for myself, I cannot but believe that genocide is the deliberate, official policy of Khartoum's Arab leaders.*

There can be no other explanation for the savage burning of African villages by Arab troops.

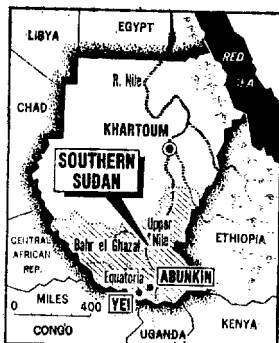
There is surely no other reason for the wanton destruction of grain and seed for next year's crops; for the quite merciless killing and maiming of men, women, and children without discrimination.

## Agony

To be dispassionate is impossible. I have just seen—arriving too late with a party of African guerrillas—what the troops did to one village.

Machine gun bullets had almost cut one villager in half.

A mother was being laid in a shallow grave, her two little sons looking on—one, slightly older, carrying his brother strapped to his back.



A man stood in agony . . . one of his ears had been sliced off.

A cripple, demented with grief, wandered barefoot among the red-hot ashes of the hut where his sister had lived.

She was dead; a bullet in her back.

Crying unashamedly, the cripple wailed: "If I was not lame I would chase these men and kill them. Give me a gun, a gun."

But no one gave him one. The guerrillas of the Southern Sudan stood silently, compassionately, as he raved on. They had seen it all before.

## Neglect

Accurate figures of death are impossible in an area of 350,000 square miles where babies are born and

old people die without any records. But from talking to soldiers, civilians, administrators, and teachers, a total casualty figure for civilians of between a quarter and a half a million might meet the truth.

Whatever the tally it is clear that the Sudan's three southern provinces are being depopulated and neglected to a mortifying degree. Something must be done, and soon, before the bush takes over completely.

This vicious war, being fought on the perimeter of the Middle East conflict, has been largely ignored by other African States and the United Nations—

anxious to do nothing to offend the Arab nations. Express photographer John Downing and I have just returned from the guerrilla-held areas of the Sudan.

We went illegally because there is no other way. The Sudan Government is sensitive to prying eyes seeing what is happening.

## Fear

We joined the ragged guerrilla army known as the Anya-Nya—a word meaning the venom of a deadly snake. It is a name feared by the Government soldiers.

The southerners, racially underprivileged, want independence. The Khartoum Government has sworn never to grant it.

Nevertheless, from two weeks of marching with the rebels—100 miles in five days—I am convinced the Government will never stamp down the disciplined, committed guerrillas until they kill the last man.

The rebels do not have the arms or money, or with their roughly figured 40,000 troops the manpower to

A RACIAL war of desperate ferocity is being fought out in Southern Sudan. On the one hand are Arab troops with Russian advisers of the Sudanese Government. On the other: the black African Southern Sudanese demanding independence from their northern Arab rulers. The Sudanese Government recently invited journalists to Khartoum to present propaganda about the fighting. The Daily Express decided to find out what really was going on. So reporter GEORGE HUNTER and photographer JOHN DOWNING were despatched to a nearby neutral country. From there they made a clandestine journey to report the war at first hand. Downing's pictures are on Page Seven. This is Hunter's first despatch:—

defeat the Government.

At best, they might achieve some sort of independence although it gets more and more unlikely.

Sudanese President Jaafar el Mumeiri has offered regional autonomy, but this has been rejected by the rebels who, like the Biafrans before them, insist on complete secession. They point out they are culturally, ethnically, and religiously different from the Arabs in the north.

So it has devolved into a series of no-quarter actions. Although the rebels' identity card lays down observance of the Geneva Convention, they take no prisoners. A bullet in the back of the head is standard treatment for any Arab soldier captured.

For a few under questioning the end comes more slowly.

## Callous

The rebels justify their callous unconcern for humanitarian rules by the example of the Arabs who torture, maim, gouge eyes, emasculate, and sometimes I'm told, bury prisoners alive.

I have been sickened by what I have seen and heard. In the West Nile area recently Arab troops

LONDON DAILY EXPRESS

March 16, 1971

killed 19 civilians. Among them were a man and wife who had to watch as their family of four were rushed inside a straw hut and burned alive.

Late last year in Abun-Kin, 41 civilians died as they were attacked while praying in church. Some who escaped were pushed back inside the burning church building.

Massive supplies of medical aid and food are needed before the pitiful ranks of the refugees swell larger: before the 35 per cent estimated death rate among children under one year old gets bigger; before the endemic diseases kill off even more of the suffering population who scrape the barest existence from the miserable soil.

# In the front line of the fight for survival

REPORT:

**GEORGE  
HUNTER**

PICTURES:

**JOHN  
DOWNING**

OUR first meeting with the guerrillas of the Southern Sudan came at high noon on a dirt road on the border.

It was suitably dramatic for the circumstances—a sort of James Bond occasion which had begun 400 miles away inside the friendly borders of a neighbouring country.

In fact, it had all begun in London a month before when Downing and I had given our visiting cards to an intermediary. They had been crossed and initialled by the Express Foreign Editor. "The next time you see these," we were told, "they will be in the hands of your guide. Don't say anything until he uses them to identify himself."

This was the start of our attempt to find out at first hand just what was going on inside the Southern Sudan where the African guerrillas

CPYRGHT  
—who want independence from the pro Communist Government of Jaafar el Numeiri in Khartoum—have been waging warfare for the past 15 years.

The northerners, or Arabs, refuse to grant them their freedom and the world, in its indifference, has swept the problem under the carpet.

Now we were near to seeing it all for ourselves. Our visiting cards had turned up as arranged in a clandestine meeting in a neighbouring country and we had been taken by night to a pre-arranged spot.

We had been lying for two hours in the shade of a huge mahogany tree waiting for our introduction to the ragamuffin army of the Anya-Nya. The only sounds came from tree insects, whistling like never-ending boiling kettles. Suddenly, something told us we had company.

The snouts of rifles and sub-machine guns were poking from the bush all around, behind the barrels fierce, ragged men with unblinking eyes. We sat stock still, afraid to move until Downing hissed: "For God's sake, somebody say something."

Someone did. "Welcome to the Southern Sudan, our country," said a slim, boyish soldier. This was Lieut.-Colonel James Loro, 28-year-old commander of the Second Battalion of the Anya-Nya.

He rose from the bush, hand extended, broken teeth grinning. "We have been expecting you, but we have to be careful. We never announce our arrival. Surprise is one of our main weapons."

From that moment, we could see that whatever their inadequacies, here was a force to be reckoned with. We were to see much more.

The black man in the Sudan is being hounded in a fierce racial war. He is the victim of a deliberate genocide policy carried out by Arab troops with Russian advisers of the Sudanese Government. As a propaganda exercise the Sudanese Government invited journalists to Khartoum to present its version of the 15-year war. But the Daily Express sent in a team independently to find out what really is going on. Day 2 in this searching inquiry: reporter George Hunter and photographer John Downing meet the guerrillas.

## Dying

This land, we found, was hell-on-earth. An area overlooked by God, a wasting lump of territory, where a people are dying. More accurately, where a people are being butchered out of existence.

Slowly, but inevitably, they are being wiped from the face of this earth by what I truly believe is a calculated policy of genocide perpetrated by the Sudanese Government.

"The camp is near," said Loro, cradling a Sten gun in his string-bean arm. Seven miles on through murderous bush and in heat topping the 100 mark, we arrived.

A disembodied voice from the bush demanded the password. "I am the commanding officer," said Loro, but it wasn't enough. "The password," the voice insisted, and the mechanism of a Bren gun was cocked ominously. Eventually satisfied, the voice appeared in person, a huge man handling the heavy Bren like a pop-gun.

We were to see more of this Goliath, looping along with our patrol, handling the Bren and seven magazines of ammunition with complete ease. I explained lightly that in Britain we had Bren gun carriers to transport such

weapons, mechanised vehicles with track drive. "We have Bren gun carriers too," smiled Loro grimly. "He's one of them."

From then, for two weeks, we lived the life of these guerrillas, ate their food when there was any, drank the brown, often stagnant water which comes in only two varieties—warm and very warm.

## Stoicism

We learned to admire their stoicism, their uncomplaining acceptance of their lot, their housewifely ingenuity for patching together shorts and shirts that were more patches than original, their spirit of sharing the last scrap of food.

Two of the greatest gifts we gave before leaving were notebooks for cigarette-making, and spare socks and shirts. It seemed so little: it meant so much.

Loro's remark about the Bren gun was a stark commentary on how these men are forced to fight their war of independence. They are so short of even the most basic fighting weapons that when one man goes on leave he hands his weapon to one who's just come back.

But if the quantity is small, the variety is immense.

Practically every small arm ever made in the last 20 years is represented in the Anya-Nya armoury.

British .303 rifles; Brens and Stens; American tommy guns; Belgian FNs and pistols; Chinese and Russian automatic rifles, light and heavy machine guns; Italian sub-machine guns; U.S.-made grenades and mortars; the odd Bazooka. You name it, they've got it.

Even bows and arrows are used in emergency. Some of the weapons were taken from the Simbas fleeing from the Congo; some are said to have been used by the Egyptians during the Six-Day War and spirited by the Israelis through Ethiopia. Every man has his favourite firearm and he puts it down only to sleep.

Even eating, they squat on their haunches in circles, left hands gripping guns, right hands scooping from the communal bowl handfuls of boiled

maize and kasava flour which is their daily bread.

They do little training, this raggle-taggle army, finding it better to conserve their strength on a near-starvation diet, for action patrols and ambushes. This they perform magnificently.

The soldiers seem to have renounced women in their dedication to their fight. One hefty private, toting two grenades dangerously in his belt, said seriously: "Women are weakening for a soldier. We are committed to our fight. We do not need them except for grinding kasava. That is no work for a man."

## Effects

Whether or not they need girls for any other reason, the rebels bask in the admiration of the female villagers. As they grind the maize and yeast between flat stones to

make the much-favoured evil-looking beer, they sway rhythmically and sing hypnotically songs of marrying the Anya-Nya who will shoot their food for them and take them from the heavy work.

We bought some beer for the patrol—a porridgy sludge with a sharp vinegar taste—and found that on their usually empty stomachs, it had some spectacular effects.

One lieutenant, Kenyi Athanasio, who took his much-envied headwear from a dead Sudanese officer, was insistent that the beer was nourishing for his men, and in the absence of food we kept on buying it for them.

At least he kept on ordering it and when it arrived in a gourd on a woman's head he would say in total surprise: "That woman, she has brought beer again." We kept paying and it became the joke of the patrol—especially since he managed a lion's share. In

other circumstances, the African evenings without the unrelenting heat could have been romantic. The stars twinkling, the crescent moon over the palm trees, the smell of wood smoke on the cool air, the low murmurs of the soldiers as they relaxed on their beds of straw.

But stark reality returned as the last fire died and only the chirping of the crickets and the rumblings of the bullfrogs interrupted the quiet of the bush. Like a series of minor shocks, rifles were cocked and magazines slammed home in machine-guns, hand grenades laid out handily.

This was, we were rudely reminded, the "front-line" and not a safari with laid-on tourist attractions.

Guards were changed, one soldier silently touching another and the sleeper rising, taking his gun and disappearing into the bush, the other taking his bed in the warm straw.

LONDON DAILY EXPRESS  
March 17, 1971

# A cry for help in a land of despair...

REPORT:  
GEORGE HUNTER  
PICTURES:  
JOHN DOWNING

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A whole nation of black people faces extinction unless the racial war in the Sudan is stopped. The black man of the Southern Sudan is being hounded by Arab troops backed by Russian advisers of the Sudanese Government in a deliberate genocide policy. The Government recently invited the Press to Khartoum to present its version of the war, now 15 years old. But the Express sent in its own team to follow the guerrillas and find out what really is going on. Here is their final report.

AT FOUR o'clock one morning we were jolted awake by the incongruous sound of a Westclox alarm clock jangling in the dark.

It was stand-by time, the hour when the Anya-Nya know from experi-

ence that the Arab army likes to attack. The whole camp sat up, rifles clutched across knees, until daylight came, and they relaxed again.

It was gently touching how they protected us. "Do not have fear," said an officer with giraffe-tail garnishings round his hat band. "We sleep with one eye open. You will be safe."

This rebel army is nothing if not democratic. Uniforms—green linen with a broad red stripe down the leg—are the exception. But they are given to those who need them most or simply whom they fit best.

It is common to see a sergeant major or an officer, wearing indescribably tattered trousers and a gun belt, drilling a line of soldiers looking vastly more military than himself. Badges of rank are unknown. Footwear varies from open sandals to cheap plastic shoes.

## Agony

Yet they can and do often march 40 miles a day through the roughest, most unyielding country I have ever encountered. We had expensive leather boots and we ended up in blistered agony. They padded along mile after mile, feet like seasoned leather, over rocks and scrub and flesh-ripping dagger-thorns.

In my blistered shame, I can only say this is their land, territory made for guerrillas who know every inch of it in daylight or in dark like a taxi driver knows London streets.

Our unaccustomed eyes riveted on the man in front, we stumbled and cursed our way through the African night.

The Anya-Nya know there are spies in the bush—traitors



Approved For Release 1999/09/02 : CIA-RDP79-01194A000300070001-6

and report rebel movements to the enemy. They did not want us to be seen if it could be avoided. When the Anya-Nya catch a traitor, they make him dig his own grave and despatch him into it with a shot through the head. Roughly, they cover him over. There is no time and no inclination for niceties with such people.

James Loro is typical of the seasoned fighters. He admits he has killed "many" Arabs. In seven years since he joined the rebels he has taken only one month's leave at home.

After that, the Arabs tortured his father for information about him. Since then, his family has been questioned, his brother killed. So Loro—to prevent reprisals—doesn't go home any more. "I am well known to them. When I travel, I need soldiers with me because the Arabs want my head."

Now word reached us of an attack on the village of Kobo in the Eastern Yei district. Runners brought the news that 17 houses had been destroyed three old women and five children taken hostages.

We asked to accompany them on patrol to the stricken area and, armed to the teeth, we set out.

It was an arduous three days, but the guerrillas took it in their never-shortening stride. We slept where and when we could, in everything from straw and mud huts to the open air. We ate what we found, some kasava baked in a fire like potatoes and dry as dust; a few eggs; some paw paw.

As we travelled, we saw the ravages that this war has brought to the civilians. Pathetic lines of refugees carrying their all on their heads. Huge bundles that would have stiffened a pack horse, far less the 10-year-old children or their ageing grandmothers.

We administered to their medical needs as best we could with what little supplies we carried. These surgical sessions became known as the "Doctor Downing Dispensaries." With only Boy Scout skills, we muddled through.

## Doubtful

Medically what we were doing was very doubtful. Psychologically we were performing wonders. But...

Sometimes the soldiers themselves would approach us shyly, as though unwilling to admit any ailment. What they really wanted was someone's attention, just for a change. We gave them aspirin, cough pastilles, malaria pills, regardless of what they complained of. They seemed content and even said they felt better. Mind over matter.

We reached Kobo only two hours behind a second, murderous attack by the Arabs. This time, not a single house remained standing.

Twelve women and girls and two men were missing. One woman was dead; another man had been shot through the leg. The village's few chickens had gone; the grain and seed were smouldering in the dust; huts which had been home to these innocent, helpless villagers, were mere heaps of smoking ash.

This had been a village, a poor place but as happy and contented as any can be in this devastated area. Now it was a burial ground, another place for the survivors to flee from.

It was here that the cripple, bent over his stick, emerged from the bush where he had been hiding in fear, to discover what was left of his sister's home. Already, because of the heat, she had been buried a 100 yards away beside her husband, who died last year.

On the shallow grave these Christian people had stuck a crude wooden cross, and scattered her personal treasures—two strings of coloured glass beads, a bracelet made of coloured beans. That was all she had to show for 40 years of existence. That and a bullet in the back as she fled from the blazing guns of 150 Arab soldiers.

## Neglect

In this land of privation and fear, such sights are sadly all too common. We had seen the blind fear often enough in the villagers scattering madly for the bush as we approached. Mothers dragging babies from straw beds; little boys bravely tugging their smaller kin behind them as they fled.

Their fear is real. The terror struck into them by the merciless ravages of the Arabs is, unfortunately, only one aspect of a dreadful situation. Even worse is that the country—the three southern provinces anyway—is dying from sheer neglect. Cotton buds pop open and spill their white froth into the dust because there is no-one to gather it.

Kasava fields lie rotting. There has been no rain for eight months and although the rain will come soon—unless God has really forgotten this land—few have the seeds or the will left to plant.

The death of his people may be years off yet. But it is surely coming unless the decay of earth and body can be stemmed. Unless the North realises that human needs transcend political and racial motivation. The outcome is crucial not only to the Sudan but maybe eventually to the whole of Africa. It is not a pretty story but it should be

told. It is everyone's responsibility on a world scale. It is time this war was swept back from under the carpet for a proper airing.

Theirs is a cry in the wilderness, literally, at the moment: a shout for help in any form it can be given. Maybe the Arab and the African can never live together. But in the name of humanity, they must be allowed to live.

# THE SUNDAY POST



Registered at the GPO as a newspaper  
**EAST AFRICA'S INDEPENDENT WEEKLY**  
No. 1852 NAIROBI, Sunday, April 4, 1971

60 cts.

# FORGOTTEN PEOPLE WHO ARE FIGHTING TO SURVIVE

George Hunter  
reveals  
the truth  
about  
a secret  
struggle

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**I**F there is a hell, it is here in the Southern Sudan—a wasting land, where a black people are dying.

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*that genocide is the deliberate, official policy of Khartoum's Arab leaders.*

There can be no other explanation for the savage burning of African villages by Arab troops.

There is surely no other reason for the wanton destruction of grain and seed for next year's crops; for the quite merciless killing and maiming of men, women, and children without discrimination.

To be dispassionate is impossible. I have just seen—arriving too late with a party of African guerrillas — what the troops did to one village.

Machine gun bullets had almost cut one villager in half.

## Agony

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A cripple, demented with grief, wandered barefoot among the red-hot ashes of the hut where his sister had lived.

She was dead, a bullet in her back.

Crying unashamedly, the cripple wailed: "If I was not lame I would chase these men and kill them. Give me a gun."

But no one gave him one. The guerrillas of the Southern Sudan stood silently, compassionately, as he raved on. They had seen it all before.

Accurate figures of death are impossible in an area of 350,000 square miles where babies are born and old people die without any records. But from talking to soldiers, civili-

ans, administrators, and teachers, a total casualty figure for civilians of between a quarter and a half a million might meet the truth.

Whatever the tally it is clear that the Sudan's three southern provinces are being depopulated and neglected to a mortifying degree. Something must be done, and soon, before the bush takes over completely.

This vicious war, being fought on the perimeter of the Middle East conflict, has been largely ignored by other African States and the United Nations — anxious to do nothing to offend the Arab nations.

Photographer John Downing and I have just returned from the guerrilla-held areas of the Sudan.

We went illegally because there is no other way. The Sudan Government is sensitive to prying eyes seeing what is happening.

We joined the ragged guerrilla army known as the Anya-Nya — a word meaning the venom of a deadly snake. It is a name feared by the Government soldiers.

The southerners, racially underprivileged; want independence. The Khartoum Government has sworn never to grant it.

Nevertheless, from two weeks of marching with the rebels — 100 miles in five days — I am convinced the Government will never stamp down the disciplined, committed guerrillas until they kill the last man.

## No money

The rebels do not have the arms or money, or with their roughly figured 40,000 troops the manpower to defeat the Government.

At best, they might achieve some sort of independence

although it gets more and more unlikely.

Sudanese President Jaafar el Numeiri has offered regional autonomy, but this has been rejected by the rebels who, like the Biafrans before them, insist on complete secession. They point out they are culturally, ethnically, and religiously different from the Arabs in the north.

So it has devolved into a series of no-quarter actions. Although the rebels' identity card lays down observance of the Geneva Convention, they take no prisoners. A bullet in the back of the head is standard treatment for any Arab soldier captured.

For a few under questioning the end comes more slowly.

The rebels justify their callous unconcern for humanitarian rules by the example of the Arabs who torture, maim, gouge eyes, emasculate, and sometimes, I'm told, bury prisoners alive.

I have been sickened by what I have seen and heard. In the West Yei area recently Arab troops killed 19 civilians. Among them were a man and wife who had to watch as their family of four were pushed inside a straw hut and burned alive.

Late last year in Abunkin, 41 civilians died as they were attacked while praying in church. Some who escaped were pushed back inside the burning church building.

Massive supplies of medical aid and food are needed before the pitiful ranks of the refugees swell larger; before the 35 per cent estimated death rate among children under one year old gets bigger; before the endemic diseases kill off even more of the suffering population who scrape the barest existence from the miserable soil.

# ***The Catholic Voice***

CPYRGHT

8th year, No. 41 February 18, 1971 Diocese of Oakland

## ***Genocide in Sudan charged***

**By Joan Johnson  
Berkeley**

Lako Tongun is a tall, handsome black African whose quiet eloquence in presenting the south Sudanese cause doesn't diminish its horror.

In a soft, mildly-accented voice, the 22-year-old St. Mary's College student, who fled south Sudan eight years ago, has been telling Bay Area groups of a genocide campaign which he says Sudan's Arab north has been waging against the country's Black south.

"Our struggle is for survival," Tongun told an audience at Newman Hall here recently.

Tongun and other south Sudanese refugees claim that more than 1 million of their countrymen have been killed and 700,000 others are living in desperate conditions in neighboring African states since Sudan became an independent country in 1956.

It is practically impossible to prove or disprove these charges: Foreigners are seldom allowed into

South Sudan. Nor are journalists. Nor are missionaries.

What lies behind the strife, bloodshed and guerrilla warfare is a complicated history of two different kinds of land and two different peoples, all welded together for economic reasons into one country.

At the north, bordering Egypt, is the dry, arid desert land occupied by Arab Moslems. At the

south is the equatorial forested land of the Blacks who religiously are either animists or Christians.

(Of those who are Christians, nearly all are Catholic.)

In the years preceding World War II, the entire Sudan area was administered by the British, although a distinction was made between the north and the south.

According to Tongun, the schools in the south taught English, not Arabic. The people converted to Christianity, not to the Moslem religion.

It was generally believed that North Sudan would be linked to the Arab world and the South to East Africa when independence came.

But, the southerners claim, when the time came close for independence, the British — to preserve their oil interests and interests in the Suez Canal — traded off south Sudan to the Arab world.

Resentment exploded in 1955 with bloodshed, according to Tongun. British soldiers intervened. "As a little kid, I remember them going from house to house," he said.

The following year, the British pulled out of Sudan and it became independent country. An Islamization policy was begun as a five-year plan. In 1957, the schools were taken over and Arabic made the official language.

Three years later, according to Tongun, Sunday was made a working day and Friday a day of rest. In 1964, missionary activity was restricted in south Sudan.

The south Sudanese claim the Arabs are out to annihilate them, citing several massacres that took place in 1965. Tongun says that "the aim of the Arab government is to get rid of the educated people."

On the other hand, guerrilla warfare is carried on by the Anya-Nya nationalists who attack Arab military establishments. The Arabs in turn, according to Tongun, have burned villages and taken reprisals

against civilians, holding some as hostages and putting others in concentration camps.

Some, like Tongun, have escaped to other countries like Ethiopia and Uganda where they try to eke out a living on 14 cents a day. "They have no support and no clothing. It is a very terrible situation," Tongun says.

He fled with six other students eight years ago, making the 300-mile journey from Juba to Uganda on foot in seven days and crossing the Nile river five times.

In Uganda, he worked for a year and managed to save enough money for a ticket to Kenya where he eventually won a scholarship.

Later, with the financial assistance of Mr. and Mrs. Gerhard Stoll of Berkeley, an American couple doing volunteer work in Africa, he came to this country. Stoll worked in the law firm of San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto, an alumnus of St. Mary's College. Stoll was able to enroll Tongun there in 1967.

When Tongun addresses groups, he said, he is consistently asked the question: Why isn't something being done?

He gives three reasons: Because no journalists get into South Sudan, the story of what goes on behind the "grass curtain" isn't told; the Arabs have put pressure on other countries not to help south Sudan, and, the United Nations considers the Sudan situation to be an internal problem and consequently has adopted a "hands-off" policy.

However, Tongun says, two South Sudan leaders are scheduled to appear before the UN Human Rights Commission next month and the General Assembly has agreed to hear spokesmen from national liberation groups from various countries, Sudan among them.

Meantime, Tongun is accepting as many speaking engagements as possible.

Mrs. A.G. Black of Berkeley, who heads the Organizing Committee for Prevention of Genocide in the Sudan, says the committee is seeking persons who will give time to making the southern Sudanese story better known. Interested persons can contact Mrs. Black (655-2542) or Lako Tongun, P.O. Box 521, Moraga.

8 • POLITIKEN • Lørdag 20. marts 1971

Af Moses Olugua Oka

*Glemte „Biafra” i Sudan:*

# Halv million er dræbt i oprørskrigen

*Stor flygtningestrøm til nabolandene*

Omkring en halv million sudanesere er i de sidste år dræbt af skud eller under bombardementer i oprørskrigen i det sydlige Sudan. Antallet af dræbte er beregnet af FN. Desuden er 63.000 sydsudanesere flygtet til Uganda og 40.000 til Congo.

Oprørerne hævder, at krigen har krævet over en million ofre, dræbt under massakrer eller døde af sult og ubehandlede sår. Sudans Biafra kaldes situationen af nogle. Der er dog den forskel, at flygningene kan få asyl i nabolandene.

Ærkebiskoppen af Canterbury, Michael Ramsey, blev under en rejse for nylig i Uganda forfærdet over det sudanesiske flygningeproblem og fordømte situationen i lige så kraftige vendinger, som han fordømte apartheid i Sydafrika.

CPYRGHT

## Nødhjælp

De kirkelige organisationer, som etablerede nødhjælpen med fly til Juba-lufthavnen i Biafra før sammenbruddet, har også sendt forsyninger til det sydlige Sudan. Disse organisationer erklærer, at der er stor brug for hjælp til den sultende og lidende befolkning, samt at indbyggernes økonomi er komplet brudt sammen, fordi de må strejfe rundt i sumpe, jungler og på græssletterne.

I nabolandene har blandt andre det svenske Røde Kors, Den katolske Missions Hjælpeorganisation og De åbne punkter for de afrikanske regeringer.

Men krigens hemmelige karakter har ændret sig, efter at general Numeiris revolutionære socialister tog magten i maj 1969. Rapporter i europæisk presse fra flygtningeorganisationer, flygtningene selv og repræsentanter for oprørerne har virket så generende for Numeiri-regeringen, at den nu har iværksat et public relations-program og bestræber sig på at præsentere sin side af sagen for den internationale presse ved at invitere udenlandske journalister på rundture i det sydlige Sudan.

Endnu en faktor har ændret krigens karakter, nemlig unionen mellem Sudan, Egypten og Libyen. Egyptiske, libyiske og sovjetiske soldater, piloter og rådgivere siges at være dirigeret af britiske katolske Kvinders Liga ydet flygtningene hjælp. Den sudanesiske regering beskylder disse organisationer for at blande sig i Sudans indre anliggender.

## Hemmelig

Den hemmelige krig, som har været ført i henved 15 år i det sydlige Sudan, er ikke længere hemmelig.

I mange år var de sydsudanesiske Anya Anya-oprøreres kamp for at bevare blot nogen grad af selvstændighed i forholdet til de respektive regeringer i den arabiske, nordlige del af Sudan bogstavelig talt en privat konflikt, ignoreret af alle med undtagelse af flygtningeorganisationerne.

Krigen var hemmelig, fordi de tidligere sudanesiske regeringers politik gik ud på at holde den hemmelig. I 1963 blev kristne missionærer udstvist af Sudan på grund af deres bekymring for negerbefolkningen i det sydlige Sudan. Regeringen anklagede missionærerne for at blande sig i Sudans indre anliggender.

FN og Organisationen for afrikansk Enhed, OAU, vil ikke risikere at krænke arabiske regeringer, — i øvrigt er løsrivelsesbestræbelser et ned i den sydlige del af landet for at bekæmpe Anya Anya-oprørerne.

Sovjetunionen beskyldes for at hjælpe regeringsstyrkerne i det sydlige Sudan, mens den sudanesiske regering beskylder Israel og nogle afrikanske regeringer for at hjælpe Anya Anya-oprørerne.

Oprørerne modtager nu en mængde våben, og de har beviset deres mod og kampberedthed. Khartoumregeringens bestræbelser på at bekæmpe oprørerne er også intensiveret i de sidste måneder, hvilket har øget flygtningestrømmen til Uganda, Kenya, Congo og Etiopien. Khartoums påstand om, at et stort antal flygtninge frivilligt er vendt tilbage til Sudan, dementeres af flygtningeorganisationerne.

Oprørernes talsmænd hævder, at sovjetisk fabrikerede bombefly og helikoptere er sat ind mod Anya Anya. Egyptiske piloter flyver bombetogter, og Khartoum-regeringens administration er blevet forstærket med egyptiske rådgivere.

En række øjenvidneskildringer godtgør, at der regelmæssigt foretages bombardementer af Anya Anya-lejre og landsbyer.

Regeringstropperne kontrollerer større sydlige byer som Juba, Wau og Shambe, men de kan ikke sikre vejre og andre færdselsårer og heller ikke landsbyerne i jungle-områderne.

Den lokale sudanesiske administration udnytter de pauser, der lejlighedsvis optræder i kampene, til at etablere nogle få „fredslandsbyer“, hvor livet vender tilbage til det normale under militærets eller politiets beskyttelse.

Men Anya Anya genoptager hurtigt aktionerne. Vejene bliver minesprængt, militærkonvojer falder i baghold, og de fredelige landsbyer opløses og forvandles igen til fjendelig jungle.

Krigen har kostet uhyre meget, både i menneskeliv og penge. Den er årsagen til, at den sudanesiske regering anvender uforholdsmæssigt store summer til indkøb af militær udrustning. Alene i den sydlige del er 20.000 soldater stationeret.

## Afslog tilbud

Da det nuværende militærregime fik magten i Sudan, erkendte det, at det var påtrængende nødvendigt at løse det sydlige problem og tilbød sydsudanenserne regionalt selvstyre i et forenet Sudan. Men løsrivelses-tilhængerne afslog tilbudet og insisterede på, at de som afrikanere intet ville have at gøre med et arabisk regime, som ville påtvinge dem arabisk kultur og den muhammedanske religion.

I øvrigt anklager løsrivelsestilhængerne Khartoum-regeringen for udelukkelse af sydsudanenserne fra indflydelsesrige poster, ringe uddannelses-muligheder for den sydsudanesiske befolkning, undertrykkelse af mistænkte sympatisører med revolutionen samt forsømmelse af den økonomiske udvikling i syd.

Juba, hovedstaden i syd, adskiller sig meget fra Khartoum 1500 kilometer længere mod nord. Khartoum er en arabisk by med moskeer, statelige villaver og huse gemt bag tykke mure, i gaderne går turbanklædte mænd og

tilslørede kvinder.

Juba er derimod en typisk afrikansk tropisk by med runde hytter, hvis vægge er lavet af mudder og flettede kviste, med mange træer og kirker. En arbejder tjener i Khartoum 30 piastre (omkring otte danske kroner) om dagen, men kun otte piastre i Juba. De nordlige sudanesiske ser ned på indbyggerne i syd, som de betragter som primitive og tilbagestående, derfor udstationeres arabiske embedsmænd som en art kolonigvernører.

Afrikanerne i syd har et større stamme-fællesskab tværs over grænserne til Uganda og Congo end mod nord. En del af Ugandas herskere, general Amins familie, stammer fra det sydlige Sudan.

HALF A MILLION SLAIN IN CIVIL WAR

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Large Stream of Refugees to Neighboring Countries

According to an estimate by the UN, during the last few years, about half a million Sudanese have been shot or killed in bombardments in the civil war in South Sudan. In addition, 63,000 South Sudanese have fled to Uganda and 40,000 to the Congo.

The insurgents maintain that the war has claimed more than one million victims, who have been massacred or have died of starvation or untreated wounds. Some people call the situation Sudan's Biafra. There is the difference, however, that the refugees from Sudan are granted asylum in the neighboring countries.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Michael Ramsey, who recently traveled in Uganda, was terrified to hear about the Sudanese refugee problem and condemned the situation in as strong terms as he condemned the Apartheid in South Africa.

Relief Measures

The church organizations, which sent emergency supplies by airplane to the Uli airport in Biafra before the collapse, have also sent supplies to the southern part of Sudan. According to these organizations, there is a great need for help to the starving and suffering population, and the economy of the people has collapsed completely because they are forced to roam about swampy tracts, jungles and grassy plains.

In the neighboring countries, the Swedish Red Cross, the Catholic Mission's relief organization and the British Catholic Women's League are assisting the refugees.

However, the secret nature of the war changed after General Numeiri's revolutionary socialists seized power in May of 1969. Reports in the European press from refugee organizations, the refugees themselves, and representatives of the insurgents have been so embarrassing for the Numeiri government that it has now started a public relations program and is trying to present its side of the matter to the international press by inviting foreign journalists on circular tours in the southern part of Sudan.

Secret

The secret war, which has been carried on for nearly fifteen years in the south of Sudan, is no longer secret.

For many years, the struggle of the South Sudanese Anya Anya insurgents to keep just some degree of independence in their relations with the governments in the Arab, northern part of Sudan, was literally a private conflict, ignored by all except the refugee organizations.

The war was secret because the policy of the previous Sudanese governments aimed at keeping it secret. In 1963, Christian missionaries were expelled from

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and on account of their concern for the negro population in the southern part of Sudan. The government accused the missionaries of interfering in Sudan's internal affairs.

The UN and the Organization for African Unity, OAU, dare not run the risk of offending Arab governments. Incidentally, the efforts at secession in the southern part of the country form part of the endeavors to control the Anya Anya insurgents [part of text missing].

The Soviet Union is accused of assisting the government forces in the southern part of Sudan, while the Sudanese government accuses Israel and certain African governments of helping the Anya Anya insurgents.

The insurgents now receive a large quantity of weapons, and they have proven their courage and readiness to fight. The endeavors of the Khartoum government to fight the insurgents have also intensified during the last few months, and this has caused an increase in the stream of refugees to Uganda, Kenya, the Congo, and Ethiopia. The reports from Khartoum that a large number of refugees have returned voluntarily to Sudan have been denied by the refugee organizations.

Spokesmen of the insurgents maintain that bombers and helicopters made in the Soviet Union are being used against the Anya Anya. Egyptian pilots fly bombing raids, and the Khartoum government has been reinforced by Egyptian advisers.

According to the descriptions of a number of eye witnesses, Anya Anya camps and villages are being bombed at regular intervals.

The government troops control large towns in the South such as Juba, Wau, and Shambe, but they cannot secure roads and other thoroughfares, nor the villages in the jungle areas.

The local Sudanese administration uses the lulls which occasionally occur in the fighting, to establish a few "peace villages" where life returns to normal under the protection of the military or the police.

But the Anya Anya quickly resume their actions. The roads are mined, military convoys fall into ambush, and the peaceful villages disintegrate and are again changed into enemy jungle.

The war has cost enormously, both in terms of human lives and money. It is because of this war that the Sudanese government spends disproportionately large amounts of money on the purchase of military equipment. 20,000 soldiers are stationed in the southern part alone.

#### Rejected Offer

When the present military regime came into power in Sudan, it recognized the urgent need to solve the problem in the southern part of the country and offered the South Sudanese regional self-government in a united Sudan. But the secessionists rejected the offer, insisting that they as Africans would have nothing to do with an Arab regime, which would force on them Arab culture and the Moslem religion.

The secessionists, moreover, accuse the government in Khartoum of excluding the South Sudanese from influential posts, of poor educational possibilities



for the South Sudanese population, oppression of suspected sympathizers with the revolt, and neglect of the economic development in the south of Sudan.

Juba, the capital in the south, is quite different from Khartoum, 1500 kilometers to the north. Khartoum is an Arab town with mosques, stately mansions and houses hidden behind thick walls. Turbaned men and veiled women are seen walking in the streets.

Juba, on the other hand, is a typical African tropical town with round huts, the walls of which are made of mud and braided twigs, and with many trees and churches. In Khartoum, a worker makes 30 piastre (about eight Danish kroner) a day but in Juba only eight piastre. The northern Sudanese look down on the inhabitants in the south, whom they regard as primitive and backward. That is why Arab officials are stationed in the south as some kind of colonial governors.

The Africans in the south have a greater kinship with the people across the borders in Uganda and the Congo than with the people to the north. Some of Uganda's rulers, General Amin's family, come from the southern part of Sudan.

Lørdag morgen *Aftenposten* 20. mars 1971

# Stadige overgrep i Syd-Sudan, kritisk for geriljaen

Av Fredrik Schjander

CPYRGHT

Khartoum.

Krigen er slutt!

Krigen kan snart begynne for alvor!

Så forskjellig bedømmer partene i borgerkrigen i Syd-Sudan situasjonen slik den er i øyeblikket i de tre provinsene som omfattes av konflikten. Den uopplyste negerbefolkningen i disse tre provinsene betrakter Syd-Sudan som sitt eget land, og i snart 15 år har geriljabevegelsen slåss for områdets uavhengighet. Men Syd-Sudan styres faktisk og juridisk fra Khartoum, og de arabiske myndigheter her vil ikke høre tale om å dele landet i to. Dette er i korthet bakgrunnen for den tragiske og blodige borgerkrigen i Syd-Sudan, en konflikt som har både politiske, kulturelle, rasemessige og religiøse elementer.

I øyeblikket er borgerkrigen både politisk og militært inne i en kritisk fase for geriljabevegelsen Anya-Nya. I hovedkvarteret for Khartoum-regjeringens styrker i Syd-Sudan betrakter man den endelige seier som vunnet, mens frittallende politikere er mindre optimistiske og peker på at en militær løsning på proble-

met Syd-Sudan ikke er mulig. Geriljahæren er på sin side i ferd med å reorganisere seg etter flere alvorlige tilbakeslag i den senere tid, og folk med kjennskap til denne part i konflikten spår en offensiv om ikke altfor lenge.

## Stadige overgrep

Samtidig forekommer det stadig nye overgrep mot sivilbefolkningen. Bare spredte tilfeller lar seg dokumentere, men dette er allikevel tilstrekkelig til å fastslå at uskyldige mennesker drepes, mishandles og frarøves alt de eier. Regjeringshæren og Anya-Nya er vekselvis blitt beskyldt for

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la stå bak den slags overgrep, men det foreligger nå bevis for at også irregulære styrker organisert av korrupte arabiske tjenestemenn terroriserer landsbygden og stjeler kveg og avlinger fra de innfødte.

Når det gjelder den militære utvikling så er det utvilsomt riktig at regjeringshæren har fått et solid overtak i løpet av de siste seks månedene. I dette tidsrommet har hæren gjennomført ialt fem meget omfattende operasjoner mot geriljaen. Disse operasjoner kulminerte med at regjeringsstyrkene den 25. januar inntok Anya-Nyas militære og politiske hovedkvarter i Winje Kapol i nærheten av grensen mot Uganda.

### Gerilja-angrep

Men hæren har ikke full dekning for sin seiersbevissthet, for omtrent samtidig som hovedkvarteret i Winje Kapol ble inntatt, gikk en styrke på ca. 1000 såkalte opprørere til storm på en sudanesiske grensepost ved Pochala i nærheten av grensen mot Etiopia.

Denne episoden ble en solid seier for den styrken på ca. 350 soldater, politifolk og hjemmevernsfolk som holdt grenseposten, og følgelig er dette et av de sammenstøt myndighetene snakker åpent om. Men samtidig er dette en klar innrømmelse av en geriljastyrke på nesten et regiments størrelse opererer i Syd-Sudan mens hæren offisielt betrakter oppstanden som nedkjempet.

### Sovjetiske våpen

Når hæren har hatt krigslykken med seg de siste seks månedene, så skyldes det store forsyninger av avanserte våpen og moderne hjelpemidler — bl.a. helikoptere av sovjetisk opprinnelse — som har gjort det mulig å drive jakt på fienden alle årets tolv måneder og ikke bare i tørketiden fra desember til mars.

De omfattende operasjoner som ble innledet ifjor sommer, er blitt ledet av nestkommanderende for styrkene i syd, oberst Omer el-Tayeb. Han forteller at den militære leder for geriljabevegelsen, oberst Joseph Lagu, hadde forlatt hovedkvarteret i Winje Kapol bare to dager før oberst Tayeb selv marsjerte inn i spissen for sine styrker.

Sudan-hæren betrakter denne innmarsjen som en stor seier, selv om leiren var forlatt av geriljastyrkene. Oberst Tayeb mener at den styrken som hadde base her, utgjorde ca. 4000 mann. Under tidligere operasjoner ble også fire eller fem mindre baser funnet forlatt, slik at det sannsynligvis ikke er for lavt regnet å anslå Anya-Nyas totale styrke ved innledningen av regjeringshærens store offensiv i juli ifjor til minst 10 000 mann.

## BORGERKRIGEN I SUDAN — 1

Vi bringer her den første artikkel i en serie om borgerkrigen i Sudan. Forfatteren har besøkt krigsområdene i Syd-Sudan to ganger i vinter, og bygger dessuten på samtaler med observatører i Khartoum, Kampala og Addis Abeba.

### I nabolandene?

Myndighetene hevder at storparten av disse nå enten er drept eller streifer uorganisert omkring i urskogen i Syd-Sudan, men sannsynligvis befinner en vesentlig del av styrken seg i skjul i Uganda og Etiopia.

Slik stemningen idag er blant sivilbefolkningen i Syd-Sudan er det vanskelig å forestille seg hvordan Anya-Nya skal kunne gjenerobre den maktposisjon bevegelsen hadde fra tiden før 1965 og frem til midten av 1970. Sivilbefolkningen er krigstrett og følger at hverken Anya-Nya eller regjeringen har holdt sine løfter til dem. Samtidig har utvilsomt Anya-Nya politisk sett overspilt sine kort ved å kreve at enhver forsoning med regjeringen må bygge på anerkjennelse av kravet om full uavhengighet for Syd-Sudan.

I øyeblikket er altså den faktiske situasjon den at regjeringen har et militært overtak og samtidig et gunstig politisk utgangspunkt, ved at befolkningen i syd-utvilsomt har visse forventninger til president Gaafar Nimeri og hans meget omtalte plan om indire selvstyre for de tre sydlige provinser innenfor rammen av et samlet Sudan.

### Mentaliteten

Men i denne situasjon står regjeringen overfor en oppgave som fortøner seg enda mer håpløs enn å vinne en fullstendig militær seier, og det er å forandre mentaliteten hos de arabiske sivile og militære ledere som på grunnplanet har den daglige kontakt med sivilbefolkningen i syd.

Det er her de daglige overgrep foregår. Korrupte arabiske tjenestemenn bruker borgerkrigen og den almindelige usikkerhet som påskudd til å berike seg selv. Halvmilitære styrker terroriserer hele distrikter, stjeler kveg, brenner landsbyer, voldtar kvinner og dreper forsvarsløse syd-sudanesere.

For en utlending på kortvarig besøk i de sydlige provinser er det vanskelig å samle pålitelige bevis for at slike overgrep foregår, men modige syd-sudanesere ser også i en utlending den eneste mulighet til å underrette verden om det som skjer, og på denne måten kan man samle biter av opplysninger om episoder som neppe er enestående.

### Granskning

Utenfor provinshovedstaden Malakal fant det nylig sted to sli-

ke episoder. Politipatruljer skjøt uprovosert på ubevæpnede landsbyfolk og drepte åtte personer i det første av tilfellene og antagelig seks i det neste. At regjeringen ser alvorlig på slike episoder fremgår av at en granskningskommisjon under ledelse av en høytstående syd-sudaneser omgående ble sendt fra Khartoum til Malakal for å bringe alle detaljer ved disse to tildragelser på det rene.

Et dokument som er utarbeidet av en representant for Khartoum-regjeringen i distriktet Aweil i provinsen Bahr-el-Ghazal, inneholder detaljerte anklager om en lang rekke overgrep mot sivilbefolkningen i dette distriktet i tiden fra august ifjor til januar i år. Vedkommende funksjoner — en syd-sudaneser som tidligere har sittet i sammen ti år i regjeringen i Khartoum — forteller i en samtale at ifølge hans beregninger er ca. 6000 hus brent, 10 000 kuer og 12 000 geiter stjålet, 200 personer drept og 50 kvinner voldtatt i Aweil i dette tidsrommet. De ansvarlige er irregulære styrker som ulovlig opererer i myndighetenes navn, og bak dem står korrupte arabiske tjenestemenn.

### Grusomhetene i -65

Jo nærmere man studerer enkelthetene omkring den 15 år gamle borgerkrigen i Sudan, jo mer gruopvekkende forståelse får man for omfanget av de blodige kamper som fant sted i de sydlige provinser i 1965, kort etter Abboud-regimets fall og den mislykkede rundebordskonferansen i Khartoum om Syd-Sudans fremtid. På dette tidspunkt var Anya-Nya sterkere enn noen sinne, og krigen var nærmest total i alle tre provinser.

Absolutt alle skoler og kirker opphørte å fungere, og de fleste ble brent. Utallige landsbyer ble jevnet med jorden og innbyggerne drept uten skånsel. Hundretusener av syd-sudanesere ble drevet på flukt, enten til utlandet eller innenfor sitt eget lands grenser. Mange av dem har aldri våget å komme ut av jungelen igjen, og i alle de provinser er det idag kolonier av barn som kom bort fra sine pårørende i 1965 og som aldri vil kunne finne tilbake til sine foreldre igjen.

Efterhvert som man får et bedre bilde av det som skjedde bak verdens rygg i 1965, forstår man også bedre Nimeri-regjeringens bitterhet over at den internasjonale opinion først i den senere tid

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er begynt å interessere seg for det som skjer i Syd-Sudan, på et tidspunkt da gjenreisningsarbeidet er i full gang.

På den annen side er det helt tydelig at regjeringen akter å foreta gjenreisningen slik det passer nord-sudaneserne best, først og fremst ved en konsentrasjon av befolkningen omkring de større byene. Myndighetene utnytter situasjonen akkurat slik det passer dem. I det ene øyeblikk hevder de at hele 95 prosent av Syd-Sudan er pasifisert, mens de i det neste nekter prester, diplomater og journalister å bevege seg fritt utenfor de store byene, under henvisning til at det ikke er sikkerhetsmessig forsvarlig.

AFTEN POSTEN, Oslo  
March 20, 1971

#### CONSTANT OUTRAGES IN SOUTH SUDAN, GUERRILLAS IN CRITICAL SITUATION

CPYRGHT

First in a series of articles on the civil war in South Sudan. The author visited the war zones in South Sudan twice this winter and has had conversations with observers in Khartoum, Kampala, and Addis Ababa.

The war is over!

The war will soon begin in earnest!

In ways so different do the sides in the civil war in South Sudan assess the situation in the three provinces in which the conflict is raging. The unenlightened black population of these three provinces regard South Sudan as their own country, and for almost 15 years the guerrilla movement has fought for the independence of the region. But South Sudan is de facto and de jure ruled from Khartoum, and the Arab authorities in Khartoum will not hear of partitioning of the country. This, in brief, is the background to the tragic and bloody civil war in South Sudan, a conflict containing political, cultural, racial, and religious elements.

At the moment the civil war is both politically and militarily in a critical phase for Anya Nya, the guerrilla movement. In the headquarters of the Khartoum government's forces in South Sudan the final victory is regarded as won, while candid politicians are less optimistic, pointing out that a military solution to the problem of South Sudan is not possible. On the other side, the guerrilla army is in the process of reorganizing itself after several serious recent setbacks, and people with knowledge of this part of the conflict predict an offensive before too long.

#### Constant Outrages

At the same time, new outrages are constantly perpetrated upon the civilian population. Only scattered instances can be documented, but they suffice to establish that innocent people are killed, maltreated, and robbed of all they own. The government army and the Anya Nya have in turn been accused of being behind such outrages, but evidence is now available to the effect that irregular forces organized by corrupt Arab civil servants are also terrorizing the countryside and stealing cattle and crops from the natives.

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As concerns the military, the government army has gained a solid advantage in the course of the past six months. During this period the army has carried out a total of five very extensive operations against the guerrillas. These operations culminated on 25 January when the government forces occupied the Anya Nya's military and political headquarters in Owingi-Bul, near the Uganda border.

#### Guerrilla Attack

However, the army's confidence in victory is not fully justified, for at about the same time that the headquarters in Owingi-Bul was taken, a force of about 1,000 so-called rebels attempted to storm a Sudanese border post at Pochala, near the Ethiopian border.

This episode turned out as a solid victory for the force of about 350 soldiers, policemen, and home guard members that held the border post, and this, then, is one of the clashes the authorities speak openly of. At the same time, however, it amounts to a clear admission that a guerrilla force of almost regimental size is operating in South Sudan while the army officially regards the revolt as broken.

#### Soviet Arms

If the fortunes of war have favored the army during the past six months it is due to large supplies of advanced weapons and modern equipment -- helicopters of Soviet origin, among other things -- which have made pursuit of the enemy possible throughout the year, not only during the dry season from December to March.

The extensive operations that began last summer were led by Colonel Omer el-Tayeb, second in command of the southern forces. He relates that the military leader of the guerrilla movement, Colonel Joseph Lagu, had left the headquarters in Owingi-Bul only two days before Colonel Tayeb himself marched in at the head of his forces.

The army of Sudan regards this occupation as a great victory, even though the camp has been abandoned by the guerrilla forces. Colonel Tayeb thinks that the force that was based there amounted to about 4,000 men. During previous operations, four or five smaller bases were also found abandoned, so that it is probably reasonable to estimate the total strength of the Anya Nya's forces at at least 10,000 men when the government army began its great offensive in July of last year.

The authorities maintain that most of the guerrillas have now either been killed or roam unorganized about in the primeval forest of South Sudan, but a significant part of the force is probably in hiding in Uganda and Ethiopia.

As the mood is today among the civilian population of South Sudan, it is difficult to imagine how the Anya Nya could possibly regain the position of power the movement had from the time prior to 1965 and up to the middle of 1970. The civilian population is war weary and feels that neither the Anya Nya nor the government have kept their promises to them. At the same time, the Anya Nya has no doubt overplayed its hand politically by demanding that any reconciliation with the government must be based on recognition of the demand for full independence of South Sudan.

Thus for the present the actual situation is that the government has a military advantage and at the same time a favorable political position in that the people of South Sudan without doubt expect something from President Gaafar Nimeri and his much discussed plan for internal home rule for the three southern provinces within the framework of a united Sudan.

But in this situation the government is faced with a task that appears even more hopeless than a complete military victory, and that is to change the temper of the Arab civilian and military leaders who on the basic level have daily contact with the civilian population of the South.

This is where the daily outrages occur. Corrupt Arab civil servants use the civil war and the general insecurity as pretexts to enriching themselves. Paramilitary forces terrorize entire districts, steal cattle, burn villages, violate women, and kill defenseless South Sudanese.

For a foreigner on a brief visit to the southern provinces it is difficult to collect reliable evidence showing that such outrages occur, but courageous South Sudanese see in a foreigner the only possibility of informing the world of what is happening, and in this way bits of information can be gathered about episodes that are hardly exceptional.

Two such episodes recently took place outside the provincial capital of Malakal. Police patrols fired without provocation upon unarmed villagers, killing eight persons in the first of the two incidents and probably six in the second. That the government takes a serious view of such incidents is shown by the fact that an investigation commission headed by a prominent South Sudanese was immediately sent from Khartoum to Malakal in order to clear up all details of the two incidents.

A document prepared by a representative of the Khartoum government in the Anweil district in Bahr-el-Ghazal province contains detailed accusations about a long series of outrages against the civilian population in this district during the period from August of last year to January of this year. The functionary in question -- a South Sudanese who formerly was a member of the Khartoum government for a total of 10 years -- relates in a conversation that, according to his calculations, about 6,000 houses have been burned, 10,000 cows and 12,000 goats stolen, 200 persons killed, and 50 women raped in Anweil during this period. Those responsible are irregular forces operating in the name of the authorities. Behind them are corrupt Arab civil servants.

#### Atrocities in 1965

The more one studies the details of the 15-year old civil war in Sudan the more one understands the horror of the extent of the bloody battles which took place in the southern provinces in 1965, shortly after the fall of the Abboud regime and the unsuccessful round table conference in Khartoum on the future of South Sudan. At that time, the Anya Nya was stronger than ever before and the war was almost total in all three provinces.

All schools and churches ceased to function and most of them were burned down. Innumerable villages were razed to the ground and the inhabitants mercilessly killed. Hundreds of thousands of South Sudanese were forced into flight, either to foreign countries or within the borders of their own country. Many of them have never dared return from the jungle, and in all three provinces there are today colonies of children who were separated from their relatives in 1965 and will never be able to find their way back to their parents.

Gradually, as what happened behind the world's back in 1965 becomes better known, one can better understand the Nimeri government's bitterness over the fact that international opinion has only recently become interested in what is happening in South Sudan, at a time when reconstruction work is under way.

On the other hand, it is quite clear that the government intends to undertake the reconstruction in the way that suits the North Sudanese best, first and foremost

through concentrating the population around the larger cities. The authorities exploit the situation just as it suits them. At one moment they claim that 95 percent of South Sudan is pacified, and at the next moment they refuse to let clergymen, diplomats, and journalists move outside the large cities, claiming that it is not safe.

BAITMORE SIM  
April 20, 1971

## *Sudanese Official Lists Ways To Appease Rebellious South*

CPYRGHT

By RUSSELL WARREN HOWE  
Star Staff Correspondent

Khartoum, the Sudan — Gen. Gaafar al-Numairy's junta here, which professes a socialistic outlook, is trying to decide what it meant by promising "regional autonomy" to the war-ravaged southern Sudan two years ago.

Since the May, 1969, revolution, about 14,000 of the estimated 100,000 non-Muslim refugees have returned from abroad to the 5,000,000-population, 40-language, Texas-sized south. But southerners still want to know what the predominantly Arab, Muslim, military government has in store for them.

**Regional Legislature Needed**  
Abel Alier, an articulate black, Anglican southerner, who is civilian minister of works in the junta, said in an interview that his people's first political necessities were a regional legislature and "southernization" — replacing all non-southerners in government posts there.

Window dressing southernization has begun with some diplomatic, police and administrative appointments.

A "planning and coordinating commission" is now working on the undeveloped area's economic development, including road and rail extensions.

Mr. Alier says the government has still not decided whether the rest of the country will also have regional legislatures or whether the Sudan will, in fact, be a federation. Leading southerners backing the junta have been half-promised a decision this year.

Christian-inspired civil law is likely to replace the "Shar'ia" — the traditional Muslim code — in the south; but Arabic will be

enforced as the main medium of instruction in schools to make it a truly national language, Mr. Alier said.

He said it was essential that the entire police force in the south should be composed of southern Negro tribesmen, not Arabs from the north. But Brig. Mahmud and al-Rahman, No. 2 man in the defense ministry, reflected the view of most Arab officers when he said there could be no regionalization of the armed forces. This includes the police.

Brigadier al-Rahman said the Sudanese Army is now trying to put a new face on "pacification" of the turbulent south by helping out with feeding, hospital services and roadbuilding.

The World Food Program has also provided \$11,000,000 in supplies to pay workers on road, community development, water resources and agricultural projects.

### **Herdsmen Back At Work**

Peaceful peasants of the million-strong Dinka tribe are now reported once more herding their cattle after years of secessionist warfare.

Market towns like Maridi, where the population fell from 4,000 in 1963 to 29 in 1965, are thriving again; Maridi's official population is put at 15,000. Juba, the south's "capital," is said to have a population of 65,000, against 18,000 in 1963 and 7,000 two years later.

Mr. Alier hopes the south, with its scenic forests, animal life and proximity to Kenya and Uganda, will be the Sudan's main tourist area. Tea, cotton, cattle and lumber will be encouraged as export industries.

The junta's "regional auton-

omy" plan corresponds to the philosophy of the Anglo-Egyptian condominium which ruled the country for six decades until 1956.

To save face, the regime says the Sudan's dual culture was the result, not the cause, of the colonial system's dual administrative approach. But regime publications agree that the south has a different culture from the rest of the country, and say this deserves recognition and encouragement.

Observers brand the administration as hesitant to give executive authority to the Ministry of Southern Affairs here. They fear that unless bold decisions are taken, southerners may reject the promise of autonomy as just another Arab bluff.

Ibrahim gad Allah, top assistant to Joseph U. Gareng, the Communist civilian who is southern affairs minister, says "Because we have made so many mistakes in the past, if this [north-south] reconciliation fails I don't see how it could ever be attempted again. That's why we're moving slowly, to make sure we get it right."

Another reason for delay, he says, is that the south is not economically self-sufficient.

### **Old Attitudes Lingers**

Here in Khartoum, some old Arab attitudes to the slave-serve south die hard. Arab officers speak of southerners as "natives."

Although ministers and publications frankly blame southern secessionism on decades of neglect and provocations, and on a brutal campaign of enforced

Islamization and anti-Christian persecution in the early Sixties, staff officers refer to the nationalist resistance fighters as "mutineers."

There are exceptions. The articulate, confident, popular deputy chief of staff, Gen. Muhammad abd-el Qadir, who has served in the south, respects the region's cultural nationalism and favors negotiation.

Staff officers insist that all fighting in the south is "over." But travel in the southernmost province, Equatoria, is only possible by convoy, with the anti-Khartoum guerillas using a motley arsenal of Russian, English, Belgian and other weapons against government forces.

About 500,000 homeless tribesmen have been grouped in 400 strategic hamlets, Vietnam-style. Travelers say the Sudan's Muslim power structure will have to decolonize its thinking if real reconciliation is to be achieved.

### **At Record Low**

The country's foreign currency reserves are at a record low, and the economy is reeling under a cascade of nationalization. But International Monetary Fund recommendations, including currency devaluation, have been rejected.

HINDUSTAN TIMES

April 14, 1971

# Sudan: Getting Rid of Communists

From Madan M. Saultie

CPYRGHT

Hindustan Times Correspondent

Addis Ababa:

IT IS easy to make friends with the communists, but difficult to get rid of them. In Africa, though the communist countries spearheaded by the Soviet Union and Communist China wield a measure of influence, no communist party as such is allowed to exist on the continent, primarily because of this realisation.

Sudan, after the May 1969 military coup, made the first bold exception by giving the Communist party—functioning underground since the country's independence in 1956—a semblance of recognition. The result, just after two years, is that fighting the Communists at home has become a major obsession for the country.

## Dual Disadvantage

This is so because, on the one hand, Communist-inspired radicalism has spelled ruination of most of the country's economy; and on the other, the Communist party asserts its right to exist even when all other political parties have been dissolved to make way for the evolution of a single-party system which is the intended goal of the Sudanese Revolutionary Command. The Communists have even gone to the extent of publicly criticising the government's "hasty" decision to enter a federation with Egypt, Libya and Syria. Evidently, the Communists have been trying to discourage Sudan's movement towards the Arabs who had widely criticised the Communist participation in the government.

Relations between the Communist party and the regime have been mercurial ever since the honeymoon began nearly two years ago when Gen. Gaffar el Nimeiry enlisted the 53-year-old Marxist, Abubakr Awadallah as the regime's first Prime Minister. At that time, the General, who successfully led the May revolution, presumably under political guidance from Mr Awadallah, had hopefully expected to forge a "progressive front" and therefore was tempted to include at least four known Communists in the Cabinet. But soon after, the General realised that the Communists perhaps wanted to play a more dominant role. And, when the Nimeiry regime set out to establish its hold over the government, ignoring the Communists, the latter realised that their party's fortunes were on the wane.

The climax came in October 1969 when General Nimeiry dropped Mr Awadallah as Prime Minister after the latter had declared in an address to students in East Berlin that the Communist party was the sole prop to the Sudanese

regime. Then, after the party rejected General Nimeiry's directive for dissolution and merger in a proposed single party, Mr Khalek Mahgoub, its secretary-general was arrested and 13 senior army officers with Communist leanings were dismissed. Furthermore, on November 16 last year, General Nimeiry dismissed three of the Communists' main supporters in the Revolutionary Council of Ministers and stripped them of their ranks after they were accused of leaking State secrets and developing contacts with "subversive elements" abroad. Finally, on February 12 last, General Nimeiry's announcement that his regime would "crush" and "destroy" the Communist party and purge all Communists from public life, ushered in a decisive phase in the regime's protracted war against the Communists.

## National Unity

General Nimeiry has more than one reason for unleashing such a devastating tirade against the Communists. Uppermost in his mind appears to be the maintenance of national unity which is already badly jeopardised by southern Sudan's 16-year-old war of secession. The real clue to Communist activity in the Sudan became apparent from what the General proclaimed recently: "We will not allow the existence of any open or secret party. We will not create terror, but we are responsible for the protection of our citizens against the terror practised by Communists."

It is clear that General Nimeiry, whose revolution drew much inspiration from the late President Nasser, wants to follow the Cairo line in toto. Like the UAR, his regime detests conservative organisations like the Muslim Brotherhood and has liquidated the Mahdi strongholds in the country. Similarly, it abhors radicalism of the extreme type. In short, Sudan's policy is: curb communism within; woo Communists abroad.

That is why General Nimeiry is always at pains to explain that his wrath against the Communists in the country has nothing to do with Sudan's relations with the Soviet Union or Communist China, both of which are giving the country much useful technical and economic assistance. The Chinese are surveying a proposed road-link between the Red Sea coast and Khartoum, to be built with Italian finance. Soviet assistance flows in both directly and indirectly via Cairo and Tripoli (Libya). While direct assistance is meant for meeting development needs, the indirect channels are used to enable Sudan participate effectively in the Arab-Israeli conflict as also to fight the Israelis who are supposed to be aiding the rebels in

the south.

## Economic Recovery

Simultaneously a series of measures are being taken to stop the economic rot, the offshoot of the regime's drastic nationalisation measures. Without actually renouncing socialist aims, the revolutionary government is quietly trying to restore confidence in the private sector. Several commissions have been set up to revive the economy. As a result of sweeping nationalisation of foreign banks, leading business firms and allied sectors, the country's agricultural production had touched rock-bottom and, as the Bank of Sudan's commissioner, has admitted: "we have gone through three months of havoc." Moreover, foreign investors and traders lost much of their confidence in Sudan's economy and trading companies abroad insisted on cash payment for all imports by Sudan.

Appropriately, a commission is now making a detailed study of the take-overs and is assigned the task of determining what areas could function efficiently in the public sector and what could be profitably handed back to private entrepreneurs. Further, while no limits are imposed on private participation in industry, agriculture, except cotton, would remain only in private hands. By, thus, resorting to a mixed economy, General Nimeiry says they are building "national capitalism." Along with these measures, a new investment law is being framed to attract foreign capital by offering a series of guarantees against nationalisation.

Nevertheless, it is evident that this crash "economic rejuvenation campaign" will succeed only if there is coherence at the top and stability within the country. The Nimeiry regime itself has experienced at least half-a-dozen Cabinet reshuffles in just two years. And the southern problem still claims much of the regime's energy and financial resources apart from being a constant threat to national unity.

During the first three months of this year, two major attacks have been launched by Sudanese forces at Morta and Owin-Nil-Bu, thus, successfully breaking two major centres of rebel activity. The prize trophy in recent operations, of course, is Colonel Rolf Stenier, a German mercenary, infamous for his activities in the Congo and Biafra. Stenier who was captured while crossing into Uganda is now awaiting trial in Khartoum.

## Southern Problem

Southern Sudan, including three provinces of Equatoria, Bahr-al-Ghazal and Upper Nile, has a population of five million—just

one-third of Sudan's total population. Over one million southern Sudanese have fled to neighbouring Uganda, Ethiopia and the Central African Republic, since the outbreak of the secessionist struggle in 1955. About 250,000 are reported to have been killed and almost the same number are said to have died of hunger.

Actually, the frequent change of Government in Khartoum—Nimeiry's regime being fifth since 1956—and dissensions amongst the rebel groups, bordering on open tribal conflicts, wavering in demands from autonomy to complete independence, have made the southern problem increasingly intractable.

Immediately after coming into power in 1969, Gen. Nimeiry announced that "autonomy would be accorded within the framework of a united nation" to the southern Sudan. He outlined a four-point programme which "inter alia" offered amnesty to the southern rebels who surrendered their arms; an intensive social, economic and cultural programme for the south; appointment of a Minister for southern affairs; and training of southerners to take positions of responsibility.

The offer, of course, seemed to have been ignored both by the north as well as the south. The Sudanese forces persisted in attacks on rebel pockets and the hard core of the Anyanya (the military wing of the secessionist movement) continued to assert: "The Anyanya stands for separation and any agreement made in Khartoum will be meaningless. We are simply asking for independence—like the Africans of Angola and Rhodesia." These militants have also given a new name to the region, Anyidi because, so they believe, "southern Sudan is meaningless and is associated with Arab north Sudan."



## AFRIKA

### SUDAN

#### Hört die Trommeln

CPYRGHT

Immer wenn über dem südsudanesischen Busch eine DC-3 ohne Hoheitszeichen auftaucht, stürzen schwarze Rebellen freudig gestikulierend aus ihren Verstecken; denn das Flugzeug bringt begehrte Güter: Waffen und Munition, Lebensmittel und Medikamente. Am Steuer der aus Äthiopien oder Uganda kommenden Maschine sitzen Weiße — Israelis.

Sobald aber Mi-8-Großhubschrauber oder An-12-Flugzeuge über die Wipfel knattern, gehen die Guerillas entsetzt in Deckung; denn die Maschinen bringen Tod und Verderben: MG-Feuer, Bomben, Soldaten der Sudan-Armee. Auch am Steuer dieser im Sudan gestarteten Maschinen sitzen Weiße — Russen.

Der Buschkrieg im Sudan, Afrikas flächengrößtem Land, ist in ein neues Stadium getreten. Mehr als zehn Jahre lang hatten sich nur humanitäre Organisationen für den scheinbar aussichtslosen Kampf der sechs Millionen schwarzen Südsudanesischen interessiert, die sich von der arabischen Führungsschicht in Khartum majorisiert und unterdrückt fühlen.

Seit aber der 1969 in Khartum an die Macht gekommene Generalmajor Numeiri seinen 15-Millionen-Einwohner-Staat ins radikale antiwestliche Lager führte, hat sich der Bürgerkrieg zu einem „Konflikt zwischen dem arabischen und dem Schwarzen Afrika, zwischen Arabern und Israel und damit zwischen der Sowjet-Union und den Vereinigten Staaten“ ausgeweitet (so der britische „Guardian“).

Denn weil der revolutionäre Sozialist Numeiri mehr und mehr Russen und Ägypter ins Land holte und damit das Gleichgewicht der Kräfte im östlichen Afrika veränderte, wurden auf der anderen Seite westliche Mächte aktiv — vor allem die Israelis.

Verglichen mit dem östlichen Engagement für Numeiri nimmt sich die westliche Unterstützung für die nach einem Schlangengift benannten Anya-Nya-Aufständischen allerdings bescheiden aus: Die Israelis instruierten in Israel einige Anya-Nya-Führer — so den Chef der „Southern Sudan Liberation Front“, Joseph Lago —, sie leisten Materialhilfe aus der Luft und schickten 26 Agenten zur Beratung der Rebellen in den Busch.

Bescheidene Hilfe leisten auch Äthiopien und Uganda. Haile Selassies Kaiserreich, seit der linken Machtübernahme in Somalia in die Zange geraten, gewährt den Rebellen Unterschlupf. Der Negus rächt sich damit zugleich bei Numeiri für dessen Unterstützung der Eritrea-Separatisten, die Äthiopiens reiche Küstenprovinz

Uganda, dessen nördliche Stämme zu beiden Seiten der Grenze leben, steht erst seit dem Sturz des Linken Milton Obote am 25. Januar fest an der Seite der Südsudanesischen. Idi Amin, Ugandas neuer Führer, verglich Numeiris Behandlung der schwarzen Sudanesischen mit Südafrikas Apartheid-Politik. Daraufhin drohte Numeiris Minister Abu Issa: „Wir werden angesichts der Einmischung im revolutionären Sudan nicht die Hände im Schoß gefaltet lassen.“

Seine militärische Stärke verdankt der revolutionäre Sudan der Sowjet-Union, die auch an dem Mitte Februar ausgesprochenen KP-Verbot keinen Anstoß nimmt. Das Gästebuch im Hotel der südsudanesischen Provinzhauptstadt Juba ist voll von russischen Namen. In die Spalte „Firma“ haben fast alle „Air Force“ geschrieben.

500 bis 1000 russische Experten drillen Numeiris 30 000 Soldaten. Die Sudan-Luftwaffe ist mit Mig-Überschalljägern, An-12-Transportern, Tu-16-Bombern und Mi-8-Hubschraubern, den „fliegenden Lastkränen“ der Sowjet-Luftmacht, ausgerüstet.

Bei Port Sudan bauen die Sowjets einen Flotten- und Sam-2-Raketen-Stützpunkt. Auf dem Flugplatz Wadi Seidna, 24 Kilometer nördlich von Khartum — außerhalb der Reichweite von Israels Jets —, stehen 100 ägyptische Migs.

Alarmierender aber als die sowjetisch-ägyptische Präsenz im Sudan ist die Verwicklung der sozialistischen Freunde in den Bürgerkrieg, denn seit sechs Monaten betätigen sie sich aktiv an den Aktionen gegen die Rebellen in den drei Südpfeilen:

So brachten im Oktober von Russen geflogene Hubschrauber eine sudanesischen Einheit zum Einsatz gegen das Lager Morta, unweit der Uganda-Grenze. Die Hubschrauber griffen in die Kämpfe ein, angeblich fielen fast tausend Zivilisten. Und im Januar unterstützten Hubschrauber einen Angriff auf „Owing-ki-bul“ (Hört die Trommeln), das Hauptlager der Aufständischen.

Von Sowjets gesteuerte Hubschrauber, Migs und Antonows flogen außerdem von den Basen Juba und Malakal aus Bombenangriffe gegen vier weitere Orte.

„Niemals zuvor haben die Sowjets so aktiv an der Unterdrückung eines Aufstands in der Dritten Welt teilgenommen, nie zuvor haben sie gegen schwarze Afrikaner gekämpft und bei der Bombardierung ihrer Dörfer geholfen“, entrüstete sich das US-Maga-

zin „Time“. Überschrift: „Das sowjetische Vietnam.“

Tatsächlich gibt es Parallelen zwischen Südsudan und Südostasien. So siedeln auch die Behörden im Südsudan die mit den Aufständischen sympathisierende Bevölkerung in befestigten Dörfern an, um die Rebellen zu isolieren. Wie in Saigon scheint auch das Regime in Khartum alles andere als stabil zu sein: General Numeiri erlebte in knapp zwei Jahren Herrschaft nicht weniger als neun Umsturzversuche.

Anders aber als der hervorragend organisierte, disziplinierte Vietcong sind die südsudanesischen Aufständischen durch Stammes- und Führungs rivalitäten zerstritten. Der in einem Khartumer Gefängnis auf seine Verurteilung wartende deutsche Rebellen-Helfer Rolf Stelner: „Am besten kämpfen sie untereinander.“

Experten beurteilen denn auch die Erfolgsaussichten der Südsudanesischen — anders als die des Vietcong — äußerst skeptisch. Ein Washingtoner Militärspezialist: „Jetzt, nachdem Sowjet-Offiziere und Prestige verwickelt sind, können die Russen keine Siege der Aufständischen mehr zulassen.“



DER SPTECH, Hamburg  
March 15, 1971

SOVIET, ISRAELI, ETHIOPIAN, UGANDAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE SUDAN

CPYRGHT

Whenever a DC-3 without national markings appears over the south Sudanese bush, black rebels dash from their hiding places, gesticulating joyfully for the aircraft is bringing prized goods: weapons and ammunition, food and medicines. At the controls of the aircraft, coming from Ethiopia or Uganda, are whites -- Israelis.

As soon as MI-8 helicopters or AN-12 aircraft clatter over the tree-tops, however, the guerrillas hide, horrified; for the planes bring death and destruction: machine-gun fire, bombs, soldiers of the Sudanese army. There are also whites at the controls of these planes, which started to the Sudan -- Russians.

The bush war in the Sudan, Africa's country with the largest land area, has entered a new stage. For more than 10 years, only humanitarian organizations were interested in the seemingly hopeless struggle of the six million black southern Sudanese, who feel outvoted and suppressed by the Arab leadership in Khartoum.

Since Major General Numeiri, who came to power in Khartoum in 1969, has led his state of 15 million inhabitants into the radically anti-western camp, the civil war has expanded into a "conflict between Arab and black Africa, between Arabs and Israel, and hence between the Soviet Union and the United States" (from the British Guardian).

For while the revolutionary socialist Numeiri brought more and more Russians and Egyptians into the country, and thus changed the balance of power in East Africa, western powers became active on the other side -- especially the Israelis.

Compared with eastern involvement for Numeiri, the western support for the Anya Nya rebels, named for a poisonous snake, is modest: the Israelis instruct some Anya Nya leaders in Israel -- for example the chief of the "Southern Sudan Liberation Front," Joseph Lagu -- they bring material aid by air and sent 26 agents to advise the rebels in the bush.

Ethiopia and Uganda also give modest aid. Haile Selassie's empire, trapped since the leftist power takeover in Somalis, gives refuge to the rebels. The Negus thus avenges himself against Numeiri at the same time, for the latter's support of the Eritrea separatists, who want to separate Ethiopia's rich coastal province from the empire.

Uganda, whose northern tribes live on both sides of the border, has only been firmly on the side of the southern Sudanese since the overthrow of the leftist Milton Obote on 25 January. Idi Amin, Uganda's new leader, compared Numeiri's handling of the black Sudanese with South Africa's apartheid policy. Subsequently, Numeiri's minister, Abu Issa, threatened: "We will not leave our hands folded in our laps with respect to the intervention in revolutionary Sudan."

~~Revolutionary Sudan owes its military strength to the Soviet Union,~~  
which also does not take offense at the prohibition of the communist party, which was announced in mid-February. The guest book of the hotel in the southern Sudanese provincial capital of Juba is full of Russian names. In the space for "firm", nearly all have written "Air Force."

Between 500 and 1000 Russian experts drill Numeiri's 30,000 soldiers. The Sudanese air force is equipped with MIG supersonic fighter planes, AN-12 transports, TU-16 bombers and MI-8 helicopters, the "flying boxcars" of the Soviet air force.

The Soviets are building a naval and SAM-2 rocket base at Port Sudan. At the Wadi Seidna airport, 24 kilometers north of Khartoum -- outside of the range of Israel's jets -- are 100 Egyptian MIGs.

More alarming than the Soviet-Egyptian presence in the Sudan is the involvement of the socialist friends in the civil war, for they have been actively involved for six months in the operations against the rebels in the three southern provinces:

In October, helicopters flown by Russians brought a Sudanese unit to attack Camp Morta, not far from the Ugandan border. The helicopters intervened in the fights; allegedly nearly 1000 civilians fell. And in January, helicopters supported an attack on Dwing-ki-bul (Hear the Drums), the main camp of the rebels.

Soviet-piloted helicopters, MIGs, Antonovs also flew bombing attacks against four other places, from the Juba and Malakal bases.

"Never before have the Soviets taken so active a part in the suppression of a rebellion in the Third World, never before have they fought black Africans and helped in the bombardment of their towns." wrote the US magazine, Time. Title of the article: "The Soviet Vietnam."

In fact, there are parallels between southern Sudan and Southeast Asia. The officials in southern Sudan are also moving the population which sympathizes with the rebels into fortified towns, to isolate the rebels. As in Saigon, the regime in Khartoum seems to be anything but stable: General Numeiri has experienced no less than nine attempted overthrows in barely two years of rule.

But unlike the outstandingly organized, disciplined Viet Cong, the south Sudanese rebels are divided by tribal and leadership rivalries. The German helper of the rebels, Rolf Steiner, awaiting his sentence in a Khartoum prison, said: "At best, they fight among themselves."

Experts also judge the chances of success of the southern Sudanese -- unlike the Viet Cong -- extremely skeptically. One Washington military specialist: "Now that Soviet officers and prestige are involved, the Russians can no longer allow victories for the rebels."

MTANT HERALD  
April 13, 1971

# Arabs Wage Genocidal War In The Sudan

The March issue of The American Zionist contains a feature headed "Where Arabs Murder Africans" by Dr. James R. Sheldon, a well known American correspondent.

Like so many tragedies, the background is simple. The Sudan — Africa's largest nation in land area — lies just south of Egypt. Its population includes a minority of Arabized Moslems and a majority of black Africans. The Arabs run the government in Khartoum, a regime that is closely allied with Egypt and the other Arab League states, and has strong ties with Moscow and Peking.

*"Since 1965 at least, thousands of black Africans have been massacred by Arab troops. Their homes have been looted and burned down. Also, Christian missionaries and many priests have been killed outright."*

Both Soviet Russia and Red China have supported the Arabs in this area with planes and arms as they have done elsewhere to further their own particular aims.

Since 1965 at least, thousands of black Africans have been massacred by Arab troops. Their homes have been looted and burned down. Also, Christian missionaries and many priests have been killed outright.

Appeals to the United Nations have not helped as the Communists and Arabs have ganged up and belittled the complaining committees by votes and typical Soviet propaganda. The Reds have even brought in Zionism as playing an important part in creating trouble for the black Africans. It just so happens that the State of Israel has done a great deal to help the new independent countries of Africa and many young people are being trained in the universities of Israel.

The distinguished head of the Na-

tional Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Mr. Roy Wilkins, had the following comment on this situation in a recent press column. "Speechmakers, interviewers and analysts of the black revolution keep curiously silent on the persecution of black people in the Sudan by the Arab-led government." He further stated: "Do they oppose the Arab-led government in Khartoum, or do they continue to urge Negro Americans to help the Arabs exterminate Israel?"

When a leader like Mr. Wilkins recognizes the aims of Soviet Russia and the Arab countries in their efforts to exterminate Israel, kill thousands of black people in Southern Sudan, and poison the minds of thinking black Americans with their insidious propaganda, it seems to me that it is time that all Americans, regardless of race, color or creed, should support the democratic State of Israel in her efforts to develop and survive.

SAM J. PERRY  
Hollywood

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH  
May 10, 1971

## SUDAN 'REIGN OF TERROR'

By JOHN KEMP  
in Kampala

THE Sudan army was accused yesterday of mounting a reign of terror among African tribes living in southern parts of the country.

Ugandan officials said that last week alone 500 new arrivals were admitted to Uganda, and most told stories of indiscriminate murder, destruction and pillaging by troops who burned everything to the ground.

The punitive action was carried out by troops searching for rebel freedom fighters who want to form a breakaway State in the south. This has led to a new surge of refugees crossing the Ugandan border to join already overcrowded refugee settlements.

At a reception settlement at Agago refugees spoke of forced marches, shooting of children and the murder of men bound together by ropes.

# Religion in Communist Dominated Areas

Documentation from original sources, selected and translated under the direction of Paul B. Anderson, Editor, Blahoslav S. Hrubý, Managing Editor. Published semi-monthly.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, 475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10027 U.S.A.

The purpose of this service is to make available authentic information on the attitudes and practices of Communist parties with respect to the life, work and vital concerns of Christians and peoples of other religions in Communist dominated countries.

Vol. X

Nos. 7-8

April 1971

SUDAN and USSR

CPYRGHT USSR AND GENOCIDE IN SUDAN

*The following commentary "Israel's Secret Front" dealing with the situation in Sudan, is typical of Soviet propaganda. It accuses the United States, West Germany and Israel of imperialist attempts to help overthrow the "progressive" government of Sudan.*

*At the same time, however, the Soviet are supporting the Sudanese regime with Russian MIG 21, Antonov bombers, MI-8 helicopters, other weapons and ammunition and military advisers. It does not seem to bother the Soviet leaders that genocide is taking place in southern Sudan, where black Sudanese, Christians and non-Christians, are being killed by an Arab minority in power in the North. Conservative estimates indicate that 500,000 black Sudanese have been killed during the past ten years. Some observers say that the figure is about 1,000,000 and even 1,500,000.*

*If a few Norwegian, French, British and other newspapermen were not trying to put some light on this horror in Sudan (Per Yvind Heradstveit, a Norwegian TV reporter calls it "a murder of a nation" - "folkemord" in Norwegian) the world would hardly notice this enormous crime continuously being committed against Sudanese blacks.*

*In a revealing article "Mass Murder in the Sudan,"<sup>(1)</sup> James H. Sheldon recently wrote: "The struggle of millions of black Africans in the Sudan, to retain their freedom and their very lives against genocidal oppression by an Arab government, is one of the great tragedies of our times.*

*"In the Southern Sudan, this conflict has already led to violent death for a half-million black people, widespread starvation, pestilence resulting in more deaths, and the forced exile of 300,000 men, women and children.*

*"There is a sickening parallel to Hitler's campaign*

*of extermination against the Jews of Germany, a generation ago. Yet, the story is mostly untold in the outside world, and the terrible facts have barely commenced to make an impression upon the conscience of humanity."*

*In another article "Arabs Use Soviet Arms to Massacre Negroes" the Bombay March of the Nation of January 30, 1971 comments on the Sudanese tragedy: "While the whole world is in an uproar over Britain selling arms to South Africa which might be used against Africans, not a whimper of protest is heard about the Soviet arms that are not only being used to kill the Sudanese, but have been used against them for several years past.*

*"South African apartheid is a blot on civilization which no decent man will uphold, but it is appalling that those who condemn white racism suddenly go blind and deaf and dumb when dealing with other versions of the same disease.*

*"If it is criminal for South African Whites to turn guns on South African Blacks, it is equally abhorrent for the Arab minority in the Sudan to turn its guns on the African majority that inhabits the southern regions of that country."*

*Under Stalin several small races like the Chechen-Ingush were almost totally wiped out and larger ethnic groups like Volga Germans, Crimean Tatars, etc. were banished and are still not permitted to return to their places of origin. The whole world knows about the plight of Jews and the oppression of Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians, Tatars, Ukrainians, etc. It is no wonder that the USSR which violates freedoms and human rights of so many nationalities has so little concern for the tragedy of the Sudanese Blacks.*

BSH

NATROBI

NEW YORK POST, THURSDAY, APRIL 15, 1971

DAILY NATION, Monday, April 19, 1971

# 1 MILLION HAVE DIED IN SUDAN WAR—MAGAZINE

MORE than a million lives have been lost in the civil war between the Arabs and Africans in the Southern Sudan. A leading African magazine, *Drum*, states this in what it calls an "exclusive report on the agony of Southern Sudan".

In its Nigerian March edition, the magazine reports on "Africa's Forgotten War" as a conflict which is basically racial — a war between Africans and Arabs. The report explains that Africans of the South were only armed with "ancient" weapons like pangas, spears, bows and arrows, while the Arabs fought with jet aircraft and bombs.

"The 16-year-old Southern Sudan uprising against the Arab Northern rulers is a story of how Arabs clamp down hard on Africans, burning their villages, plundering their crops and killing their men, women and children," the report claims.

The report adds: "Our hope is that the hearts of the African peoples and their governments will be aroused; and that, as in Nigeria, wisdom and clemency will prevail and the fighting will end."

The war, which began in 1955, is believed to have been sparked off by ethnical, cultural and religious differences between the Christian Southerners and Muslim Northerners, *Drum* says.

After telling a detailed story of how Northern Muslims pursued a policy of "Arabisation" and "Islamisation" in the Southern Sudan, the magazine explains how Christian missionaries were expelled and Arabic was made the sole national

By NATION Reporter

language.

"Worse still, 1,500,000 Arabs were settled in the predominant African South amidst bitter resentment by Africans there," the magazine says.

The report says that the Southerners have formed their own government which they call the "Nile Republic". According to the report, the "government" has its own parliament and is led by a former Khartoum Government Minister for Works, Mr. Gordon Mayen.

The magazine says further that the Southern "government" is so well established that it has several ministries including that of education and even an attorney-general.

The Southern Sudanese freedom fighters, who are commonly known as Anyanya are mainly in the bush since the towns in that part of the country are "strongly fortified against them and are now inhabited by Arabs after the Africans had fled for fear of further persecution".

In the same issue, a letter written by a Mr. Joseph Lagu "in the name of the Anyanya" is printed in the column which is normally used to give the editor's views.

The letter accuses the former Ugandan President, Dr. Obote, of having "sold out to the Northerners".

## Sudan Starts Talks With Rebel Group

By MICHAEL J. BERLIN

Sudan has entered negotiations with "a genuine autonomy movement" in its rebellious southern provinces, according to Mansour Khalid, the new Sudanese Ambassador to the UN.

Khalid told a UN press conference yesterday that past Sudanese governments had clumsily attempted military suppression to end the friction between the Moslem, Arabic-speaking North and the black Christians and animists in the English-speaking South.

As a result, he said, there is a group of "honest people" in the South who have "misgivings" about the current government's offer of autonomy and want to negotiate "more guarantees."

But Khalid made a distinction between these people and "professional refugees in the pay of somebody else" who he said are fighting the government.

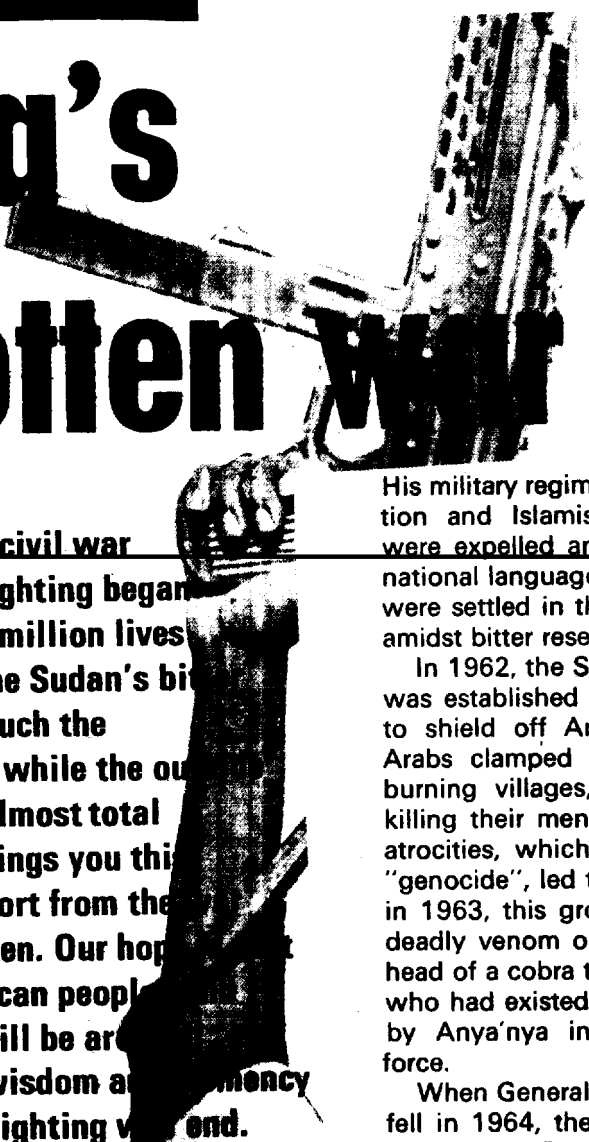
The ambassador—a Western-educated attorney who taught at the University of Colorado until taking a cabinet post with the new Moscow-Oriented Sudanese government in 1969—also had some nice words—"realistic . . . evenhanded"—for recent enunciations of U. S. policy in the Middle East.

He put his government on record in favor of the 1967 UN resolution outlining an Arab-Israeli peace settlement, which, he said, "superceded" the Arabs' Khartoum declaration of "no peace, no negotiation, no recognition" with Israel.

Sudan, although not involved in the peace talks, is in the process of working out some sort of federated Arab state with Egypt, Libya and Syria.

## **DRUM exclusive report on the agony of Southern Sudan**

# **Africa's forgotten war**



CPYRGHT

**This is the last great civil war in Africa. Since the fighting began in 1955, more than a million lives have been lost. Yet the Sudan's bitter strife has failed to touch the conscience of Africa, while the outside world looks on with almost total unconcern. DRUM brings you this exclusive picture-report from the heart of the world has forgotten. Our hope is that the hearts of the African people and their Governments will be aroused so that, as in Nigeria, wisdom and decency will prevail and the fighting will end.**

**F**OR the past 16 years, the Arabs of North Sudan and the Africans of the South have been engaged in a fierce civil war to which the whole world seems indifferent. The conflict is based on race—Arab versus African. It is like a duel between David and Goliath. The Africans of the South are armed with ancient weapons—pangas, spears, bows and arrows—and a few have firearms stolen from Government troops. The Arabs fight with jet aircraft and bombs.

The war began in 1955 with an uprising by Southerners against their Arab rulers. The Southerners believe that they have nothing to lose but their lives. Their plight worsened in 1958 when General Abboud seized power as President of Sudan in a bloodless coup d'état.

His military regime pursued a policy of Arabisation and Islamisation. Christian missionaries were expelled and Arabic was made the sole national language. Worse still, 1,500,000 Arabs were settled in the predominant African South amidst bitter resentment by the Africans there.

In 1962, the Sudan National Union (SANU) was established abroad, and has since fought to shield off Arab repression at home. The Arabs clamped down hard on the Africans, burning villages, plundering their crops and killing their men, women and children. These atrocities, which the Southerners describe as "genocide", led to the founding of ANYA'NYA in 1963, this group taking their name from a deadly venom obtained by grinding the dried head of a cobra to a fine powder. The guerillas, who had existed since 1955, were reorganised by Anya'nya into a more efficient fighting force.

When General Abboud's military government fell in 1964, the General Secretary of SANU, Mr. William Deng (he was murdered in 1969) returned to the central government along with other exiled politicians. This led to a deep split within the ranks of the African opposition.

In 1965, Joseph Oduha unified various rival groups of southern Sudanese politicians in the Anya'nya Liberation Front (ALF). But in 1967 a so-called "provisional government" was founded in the southern Sudan without the co-operation of the ALF, and in 1968 it began calling itself the "Nile Provisional Government." This move was strongly opposed by Oduha. He and Joseph Lagu, Anya'nya leader in Equatorial Province, soon assembled a disciplined force, which they called the Anya'nya National Organisation (ANO).

Since then the movement to set up an

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African State in the southern Sudan has been divided into two main groups: the Nile Provisional Government and the ANO. A third group, the United Sudanese African Liberation Front, was formed in Congo-Kinshasa in March 1970. It aims at achieving an African-ruled Sudan cut off from international Arab influence.

The President of the Nile Provisional Government is Gordon Mayen, former Minister of Works in Khartoum. This "government" has declared the three provinces of the southern Sudan independent of Khartoum and called them the "Nile Republic." Its "parliament" meets in a mud hut deep in forest country.

Here, in "Parliament House," in tragically absurd solemnity, sits the Nile Provisional Government—11 Cabinet Ministers, 11 deputies and 30 members. A few sheets of scruffy notepaper and one ancient typewriter are the instruments of the Constitution.

The Ministry of Education—the portfolio is still vacant—has begun a new system of primary education, the history book written in painful but legible hand with a pencil and the pages distributed to schools on a rotation basis. As history, it is limited. It deals only with the South Sudan's claims for nationhood. But it is better than nothing. There have been no schools in the South for seven years.

The Attorney-General administers a judicial system, based on Britain's old colonial penal code, but offenders cannot be sent to prison. There are none.

The Ministry of Finance runs a fiscal system which includes taxation and contributions for the national cause. The money can only be spent on the black market in search of guns and life-saving drugs with which to continue the struggle. Indeed, there is even a Ministry of the Interior, in charge of security, Parliamentary elections—based on a show of hands—and border control.

It cannot, however issue passports. Nobody recognises them. South Sudanese travel on a variety of documents when they leave their country—some forged, some given the blind eye by sympathetic immigration men.

If it all sounds like a tragi-comedy, to the members of the Nile Provisional Government it is deadly serious. Their commitment is total.

The military arm of the Nile Government is Anya'nya National Armed Forces (ANAF).

The other main group, the ANO, has no civilian organisation. It is purely military and is critical of members of the Nile Government.

The territory of the southern Sudan is twice the size of the German Federal Republic. It is mostly a malaria-infested, humid country of forest and dense scrubland in which snakes and wild animals abound. The small towns in

the South, strongly fortified against Anya'nya attack, are now inhabited only by Arabs, the Africans having fled for fear of further persecution.

In the bush, Anya-nya law prevails. This area is too big and too unwieldy for the Arab government troops to be able to control it entirely. For their part, the Africans are too weak, too undernourished and too ill-equipped in arms to be able to fight Khartoum on their own for independence. Their efforts have had relatively little effect on the superior government forces. But they do keep a professional army of more than 10,000 men pinned down by harassment. This includes blowing up bridges and roads, attacking road convoys and ships on the Nile, and disrupting the rail link between Khartoum and other centres.

The men usually live in the bush, fighting or training to fight, and they leave farming to the women and children in the few areas which are still cultivable. Wherever the Arabs find traces of African settlements, they burn everything to the ground again. This is why so many southern Sudanese have fled their homeland. Many more have died of hunger.

"They have made the Sudan into an Arab State," says Joseph Oduha bitterly. "The Africans must either humble themselves or be rooted out."

The conflict is based on race—African versus Arab; and nationalism by the Southern leaders. Many of them, in fact, have held office in the Arab Government, including Mr. Gordon Mayen, the President, who began his career as a police officer with the British Administration, became a district commissioner under the auspice of the Khartoum administration and, finally, Minister of Works.

He quit in 1967, choosing instead of the elegance of a seat of power, an anthill in the bush from which to control and administer a nation nobody recognises and most have forgot. Why did he remain in Khartoum so long? Nobody answers the question, but his presence there is an implied endorsement of the massacres perpetuated under the Arab regime. Now he exhorts his people: "Only in an independent Nile State shall the security of our people be guaranteed. A wall of one million patriotic dead Nileans separates us and the Arabs for all time."

Nonetheless, his sincerity is undoubted. Like his Cabinet colleagues, he is a Christian. Their denominations vary from Catholic to Presbyterian. Now there are only a few secret churches supervised by African ministers where they and the people can worship.

His Attorney-General and Minister for Finance, Mr. Joseph Bainak Kuaclieth, also accepted the Arab regime for a time. He was

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a third year law student at Khartoum University before leaving for the bush Parliament.

Similarly, Barri Wanji, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, was an economics graduate at the same University—and Stephen Lam, whose move to the Information Ministry left the Education portfolio open, was Secretary to the Minister of Interior during 1964–65. He quit, he says, because he was convinced that only by fighting could the rebel cause be victorious. "A policy of reconciliation is impossible," adds Lam. "All our people feel this way. It's a fight for survival and we'll not surrender. We'd sooner be wiped out."

The rebels believe—but most observers feel the hope is in vain—they will eventually overcome the Arabs. Equipment? "We'll steal it from the Arab army," answers Lam. Drugs? "We'll steal the Arab funds and buy them on the black market."

"The Arabs," he says, "are committed to a policy of genocide. Our villages are bombed indiscriminately. Villagers are massacred or forced into the bush. There have been no services—schools, hospitals and local government—for more than seven years. Either we submit or die. Our beliefs are too strong to abdicate them. We'll win in the end."

All too tragically, the opposite is the truth. The rebels are not only fighting the Arabs but their allies, too—virulent disease, malnutrition and world apathy. With these against them, total destruction is almost inevitable. "We accept the possibility," says Lam in a moment of rare admission. "All we can do is hope."

Their hope is that the world will hear their agony. And answer. After 15 years without response, it hardly seems likely.

ignorant of "Africa's Forgotten War" now is the time for you to help. You must tell your government that Blacks are being slaughtered by Arabs driving Soviet tanks and innocent women and children are bombed by helicopters piloted by Russians and manned by Egyptian and Sudanese soldiers. It will only stop when you raise your voices, in our behalf. Help us now!

*Joseph Lagu*

in the name of the Anyanya, the Southern Sudan Freedom Fighters.

MARCH 1971 NIGERIA EDITION



AFRICA'S LEADING MAGAZINE

CPYRGHT

Fellow Africans:

At length a clarion African voice has had the courage to present the facts of the civil war which is presently raging in Sudan. This war was brought on by a government which callously disregarded the rights of over one-third of its population, settled its satraps among them and quartered an army upon them so that they would remain ever disenfranchised and innocent of political power. In this wise did the Arabs of the North plan to keep the Blacks of the South in permanent bondage, subservient and meek.

Drum's feature ends on a dismal note. In fact, Drum draws the conclusion that we, the Southern Blacks, will not be able to withstand the Arab-Soviet genocide attempt, that we will not win in the end. All too tragically, to repeat Drum's phrase, this could be true. It will be true if fellow Africans do not rally to our cause. If fellow Black Africans do not loudly cheer our efforts, who else will?

Concerning those Blacks who have bartered away the Southern Sudanese heritage, we agree there is no hope. The greedy Milton Obote, recently sent packing, had sold out to the Northerners. He took their gold and they secured his promise that the border would be closed to arms caravans in support of our soldiers. He allowed the refugees to come in to Uganda for whom he received from United Nations so much per head. Needless to say, the refugees never saw or used this money. It was pocketed by Obote. Good riddance to such Black Africans who are unworthy of the name.

Concerning those who have up to now been



DAILY YOMIURI, Tokyo  
April 15, 1971

CPYRGHT

CPYRGHT

# Sudan's Racial War The World Ignores

Addis Ababa (Ethiopia), (CNS)—It is often called Africa's forgotten war but a more accurate label for the bitter Southern Sudanese conflict, which has claimed at least 500,000 lives in 15 years, would be the war the world chooses to ignore.

Rarely does this vicious struggle between the Arab-dominated Sudanese government of the north and the autonomy-seeking Negroid people of the south capture headlines.

Less frequently is the problem discussed by such international bodies as the UN, the World Council of Churches or even the Organization of African Unity (OAU) which is headquartered in Ethiopia, a short 500 miles from the scene of horrifying slaughter.

The cynical can find many reasons for this apparent lack of concern. For one thing, the war has its roots in the age-old conflict between Arab and Negro. It is basically racial but far less fashionably so than the confrontation between black and white in South Africa.

The 41-nation OAU seeks to present an image of a unified Africa, including the powerful Arab states of the north. The Arab members, which dominate the OAU, would not be pleased to have the embarrassing Sudanese problem on the agenda.

The struggle also has religious implications. The Khartoum government is Moslem-dominated while the Southern Sudanese are animist and Christian. It was quite clear at the recent World Council of Churches meeting that the ecumenical impulse to seek "dialogue with men of other faiths" was strong enough to sweep the Sudanese problem under the carpet.

And so far as the major world powers are concerned, the Sudan has none of the economic, strategic or ideological implications of, for instance, the relatively short and far less bloody Nigerian civil war.

Thus the tragedy of the Southern Sudan continues unchecked. The blacks in the south claim that Arab policy is nothing short of genocide and successive governments in

Khartoum have done little to refute this.

Throughout the last century the Arabs made their way up the White Nile in search of the tall, slender Africans who fetched top prices on the flourishing slave markets of Khartoum and Cairo.

Although the slave trade has long since been illegal, the deep fear and bitterness it created remain with the Negroid people of the Upper Nile. Even today, southerners will assert that young people of their tribes who have been captured by Arabs are still sold on clandestine Middle East slave markets.

\* \* \* Conflict flared openly shortly after the Sudan gained independence in 1956. The Khartoum government began a process of Arabization of all key administrative posts in the three sprawling southern provinces.

Fearing that Christian missionaries in the south were orienting the black Sudanese toward separatist ideas, the Arabs instituted a ruthless program of school and mission closure and expulsion of the missionaries.

At the same time, the Sudanese army dispatched a 20,000-strong force to subjugate and intimidate the south. All main population centers were occupied, southern politicians were arrested or killed, scores of villages were burned to the ground and their populations organized into forced labor squads.

By 1963, more than 160,000 Southern Sudanese had fled from terror into neighboring African countries. Many others had joined groups of guerrillas in the dense forests and marshy swamps and grasslands.

Soon these groups had formed themselves into a ragged but determined army, some 10,000 strong, calling themselves the Anyanya after the name of a deadly poison made from the crushed and ground heads of cobras. They armed themselves by carrying out daring raids on Arab camps, ambushing army units and confiscating arms from Congolese rebels passing through the Sudan.

Anyanya is now the military

wing of the Southern Sudanese provisional government which effectively controls all but the garrisoned main centers in the region and has advanced the secessionist struggle from sporadic action into full-scale civil war.

The cost has been enormous. In its attempt to crush the rebellion the northern government has razed countless villages, bombed tribespeople indiscriminately and forced huge numbers of men, women and children to flee to remote areas where they have died of famine and disease.

Visiting correspondents who have witnessed the results of the Arab purge have put the casualty figure at about half a million but the Anyanya claim that well over one million people have died in the war. They could be right.

Despite several changes of government by coup and counter-coup, there has been little real change in Khartoum's policy on the south.

BALTIMORE SUN  
May 3, 1971

## Sudan Orders Ugandan To Leave The Country

CPYRGHT

Khartoum, The Sudan, May 2 (AP) — The Sudanese charge d'affaires in Uganda has been declared persona non grata, according to a newspaper report here today.

The government daily *El Ayan*, without giving a source for its report, said the diplomat, Amin Abdel Latif, was ordered to leave Uganda within 24 hours.

Last week, Uganda expelled the Sudanese consul general, after accusations that The Sudan was training troops for the ousted Ugandan president, Milton Obote, in preparation for an attack on Uganda. The Sudan has repeatedly denied the charges.

Panorama - 1 aprile 1971

Milan

SUDAN

## CPYRGHT - I ribelli non si arrendono

Qualcuno lo chiama già il « Vietnam degli arabi ». E infatti una guerra che il governo arabo del Sudan (15 milioni di abitanti, 2 milioni e mezzo di chilometri quadrati, il più vasto Paese dell'Africa) conduce ormai da 16 anni, senza uscirne vincitore o vinto. I nemici da battere si chiamano anya-nya, dal veleno di un pericoloso cobra locale. Sono guerriglieri provenienti dalle tribù nilotiche delle regioni meridionali del Sudan (Bhar el Ghazal, Alto Nilo e Equatoria; 648 mila chilometri quadrati, 4 milioni di abitanti) che, ribattezzate Azania, insorsero nell'agosto 1955, pochi mesi dopo la concessione dell'indipendenza al Sudan, reclamando l'indipendenza dal governo centrale di Kartum.

Solo il calcolo delle vittime può dare l'idea dell'asprezza della lotta. I morti, secondo i dati dell'Onu, sono stati 500 mila. Secondo gli anya-nya, i soldati di Kartum, la fame e le epidemie, conseguenze del protrarsi delle operazioni militari, hanno provocato un milione e mezzo di vittime, cioè un sudanese ogni 10 e un sudanese ogni tre.

Molte le ragioni che spingono gli anya-nya a combattere contro il governo centrale. Agli arabi musulmani del nord i sudsudanesi, in prevalenza cristiani e animisti, rimproverano la forzata islamizzazione della loro terra, la discriminazione sociale (nessun nativo dell'Azania occupa un posto importante a Kartum) ed economica: un manovale a Kartum guadagna, per esempio, 550 lire al giorno, mentre un suo collega a Juba, la capitale delle province ribelli, ne guadagna solo 150.

Altrettanto valide sono le ragioni per le quali il governo di Kartum intende mantenere a tutti i costi il controllo delle regioni meridionali del Paese. Alla base di ogni considerazione c'è la necessità di conservare l'unità della valle del Nilo per assicurare la continua opera di fertilizzazione dei campi con il limo che ogni anno il fiume trasporta a mare. E una necessità che i faraoni egiziani avvertirono già nel 3000 avanti Cristo e che oggi, dopo la proclamazione della nuova Federazione araba (Sudan, Egitto, Libia e Siria) nel novembre 1970, torna a farsi pressante: Sudan e Egitto dovranno infatti di-

venire in futuro i granai di questa specie di Mec mediorientale.

Per risolvere pacificamente l'annoso problema e far deporre le armi agli anya-nya, nel giugno 1969, il governo di Kartum presieduto dal generale Gaafar el Nimeiri, concesse ampie autonomie politiche all'Azania. La mossa lasciò indifferenti gli insorti. Il Fronte di liberazione dell'Azania e il Governo provvisorio del Nilo, che ha sede a Kampala, nella vicina Uganda, intensificarono la lotta, tanto che, nell'estate 1970, i guerriglieri controllavano in pratica tutte le campagne.

Fu a questo punto che nel conflitto intervennero alcune potenze straniere. Da una parte, per assillare le retrovie arabe, gli israeliani cominciarono a rifornire di munizioni e viveri gli anya-nya; dall'altra, secondo la denuncia presentata all'Onu il 4 gennaio 1971 da due capi degli insorti, Laurence Wol Wol e Frederick Maggott, i governi egiziano e libico fornirono a Kartum 25 mila soldati che sono andati a ingrossare le file dei 20 mila sudanesi che già combattevano in Azania.

Consiglieri militari. Anche i sovietici cominciarono ad aiutare più sostanzialmente il governo di Kartum con la consegna di aerei ed elicotteri (attualmente in Azania ne vengono impiegati 25). Secondo il settimanale americano *Time*, 500 consiglieri militari russi addestrerebbero reparti sudanesi nelle province ribelli e un centinaio avrebbe già combattuto contro gli anya-nya.

Questo rafforzamento militare ha permesso al generale Nimeiri di scatenare una pesante offensiva a cavallo tra il 1970 e il 1971. Nel dicembre 1970, i sudanesi hanno investito Morta, un caposaldo dei ribelli. Nella mischia è rimasto ferito Rolf Steiner, mercenario tedesco che aveva addestrato le truppe secessioniste del Biafra al tempo della guerra civile in Nigeria, e che poi era passato in Sudan per organizzare le file dei ribelli. Fuggito in Uganda, Steiner è stato arrestato e consegnato alle autorità di Kartum. Verrà tra breve processato come criminale di guerra.

Nel gennaio 1971, i ribelli sudanesi hanno dovuto evacuare anche il loro quartiere generale, il villaggio di Owini-Ki-Bul, pesantemente bombardato dall'aviazione governativa.

A questo punto, il colonnello Joseph Lagu, che comanda gli anya-nya, ha autorizzato un suo emissario a entrare in contatto con un rappresentante di Nimeiri a Londra per esaminare le possibilità di una tregua. Ma gli osservatori ritengono che ben difficilmente gli anya-nya deporrebbero le armi. Dice, per esempio, Giorgio Rapanelli, che da anni organizza in Italia i soccorsi per le popolazioni dell'Azania e che ha recentemente visitato il Paese: « Tregua o non tregua, un giorno o l'altro ricomincerà il massacro, perché i negri del Sudan meridionale sono pronti a farsi decimare pur di conquistare l'indipendenza ».

Giuseppe Venosta

THE REBELS DO NOT SURRENDER

CPYRGHT

Some people call it the "Vietnam of the Arabs." The fact is that it is a war which the Arab government of The Sudan (15 million inhabitants, two and one-half million square kilometers, the largest country in Africa) has now been carrying on for 16 years without emerging either as victor or vanquished. The enemies they are fighting call themselves Anya-nya, from the poison of a dangerous local cobra. They are guerrilla fighters who come from the Nile River tribes of the Southern portions of the Sudan (Bhar el Ghazal, the Upper Nile and Equatoria; 648 thousand square kilometers, four million inhabitants) which, having been renamed Azania, rose up in August of 1955, a few months after independence was granted to The Sudan, and after independence was granted to The Sudan, and claimed independence from the central government in Khartoum.

Only a calculation of the number of victims can give an idea of the bitterness of the fighting. The dead, according to the information of the United Nations, number 500,000. According to the Anya-nya, the soldiers of Khartoum, hunger and epidemics resulting from the protracted military operations, have produced one and one-half million victims, that is one Sudanese out of every ten and one southern Sudanese out of every three.

There are many reasons which induce the Anya-nya to fight against the central government. To the Muslim Arabs of the north, the South Sudanese, most of whom are Christians and animists, complain of the forced Islamization of their territory, and of social and economic discrimination (no native of Azania occupies an important post in Khartoum). A hod carrier in Khartoum, for example, earns five-hundred fifty lire per day, while his equivalent in Juba, the capital of the rebel province, only earns one-hundred fifty lire.

There are just as many valid reasons why the government in Khartoum intends to maintain control of the southern portions of the country at all costs. The basis for all considerations is the need to preserve the unity of the valley of the Nile in order to insure that the work of fertilizing the fields with the mud which the river carries down to the sea every year goes on. This is a need to which the Egyptian Pharaohs referred three thousand years before Christ and which today, after the proclamation of the new Arab Federation (The Sudan, Egypt, Libya and Syria) in November 1970 is once again making its urgency apparent. The Sudan and Egypt, in fact, will have to become the granaries of this Middle Eastern Common Market in the future.

In order to solve this old problem peacefully and to get the Anya-nya to put down their arms, the Khartoum government, headed by General Gaafar el Nimeiri, conceded broad political autonomy to Azania in June 1969. The insurgents were indifferent to this move. The Liberation Front of Azania and the provisional government of the Nile, whose headquarters is at Kampala, in nearby Uganda, intensified the fighting to such an extent that, in the summer of 1970, the guerrillas controlled practically the entire countryside.

It was at this point that certain foreign powers intervened in the conflict. On the one hand, in order to harass the Arab rear areas, the

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islanders began to provide the Anya-nya with ammunition and food supplies; on the other hand, according to the accusation presented to the United Nations on 4 January 1971 by two leaders of the insurgents, Laurence Wol Wol and Frederick Maggott, the Egyptian and Libyan governments provided Khartoum with 25,000 soldiers to increase the ranks of the 20,000 Sudanese who are already fighting in Azania.

Military Advisers. The Soviets also began to assist the Khartoum government more substantially by sending aircraft and helicopters (at present, 25 of these are being used in Azania). According to the American Weekly Time, 500 Russian military advisers are training Sudanese units in the rebellious provinces and some 100 have fought against the Anya-nya.

These military reinforcements have made it possible for General Nimeiri to launch a powerful mounted offensive between 1970 and 1971. In December 1970, the Sudanese attacked Morta, a stronghold of the rebels. In the fighting, Rolf Steiner, a German mercenary who had trained the secessionist troops of Biafra at the time of the civil war in Nigeria, and who then had gone to The Sudan to organize the ranks of the rebels, was wounded. Steiner escaped to Uganda and was arrested and turned over to the authorities in Khartoum. He will shortly be tried as a war criminal.

In January 1971, the Sudanese rebels had to evacuate even their headquarters, the village of Owini-Ki-Bul, which was heavily bombarded by government aircraft. At that point, Colonel Joseph Lagu, who commands the Anya-nya, authorized an emissary to get into contact with a representative of Nimeiri in London to examine the possibility of a truce.

Observers believe that it will be quite difficult for the Anya-nya to put down their arms. For example, Giorgio Rapanelli, who has been organizing assistance for the population of Azania for years and who recently visited the country, says, "Truce or no truce, some day or other the massacre will begin again because the blacks of the southern Sudan are willing to be decimated in order to win their independence."

# Derfor gråter de gamle

CPYRGHT

Uhederligheten florerer grassat i den almindelige tilstand av usikkerhet som hersker i det sydlige Sudan. Det er nærmest tradisjon blant de arabiske tjenestemenn å utnytte den ufrivillige tjenestetiden i syd til å berike seg selv. I denne situasjon er sivilbefolkningen rettsløs og forsvarsløs. Analfabeter og primitive stammefolk kommer aldri noen vei med sine klagemål, og uansett hvilken part de søker støtte hos, utsetter de seg alltid for represalier fra motparten.

**Tekst og foto: FREDRIK SCHJANDER.**

**J**EG er en gammel mann. Nå har de tatt kuene mine. Hva skal jeg leve av?

Den høyreiste negeren slo resignert ut med hånden. Skranglingen i de tynne kobberarmbåndene rundt håndleddet hans bidro til å gjøre spørsmålsteget hørbart.

Allikevel var det ikke noe spørsmål. Det ville da også være absurd å vente at jeg — en hvit mann fra et bysamfunn i et land langt utenfor Afrika — skulle kunne peke ut en ny tilværelse for ham.

Det var en anklage.

Armbåndene og et tilsvarende smykke rundt halsen røbet at han var av høy byrd i landsbyen hvor han hørte hjemme. Den radmagre skikkelsen var svøpt i en rustred og medtatt toga. Andre plagg hadde han ikke. Føttene var bare. De hadde en sprukken, panserlignende hud. Hele livet hadde han trådt ubeskyttet i gjørme, sand og jord.

Sammen med ham satt noen av hans stammefeller. De var kommet med jernbanen hit til Wau. I en kuvogn.

Her i provinshovedstaden hadde de hatt et svakt håp om å treffe folk som ville lytte til deres sak og sikre dem rettferdighet. Etter tre dager skjønte de nå at reisen hadde vært forgjeves.

Det luktet stramt fra trekullilden foran oss. Rundt oss lå en klynge jordhytter med stråtakene saktmodig pekende mot bakken.

Den gamle mannen brukte ikke mange ord på å forklare hva som var skjedd. Hans dialekt var fattig på dramatikk, og sannsynligvis ble fremstillingen enda enklere i tolkens vaklende oversettelse til engelsk.

**D**ET var en beretning om mord og ran en dag i januar. I en landsby i Aweil i provinsen Bahr-el-Ghazal i Syd-Sudan. Overfallsmennene var en halvmilitær avdeling som svidde av landsbyhytter og stjal det de kunne komme over av kveg og geiter. De som satte seg til motverge for å beskytte sin eiendom, ble uten videre skutt.

Mennene rundt meg visste godt hvem terroristene var. De kunne faktisk navngi de fleste av dem.

De var negre som dem selv, men kjøpt, betalt og organisert av arabiske tjenestemenn. Den stjalne buskapen ble drevet til Wau og andre større markedsplasser for å bli solgt. Den gamle mannen med kobbersmykkene hadde nettopp samme formiddag gjenkjent noe av sitt eget kveg ved elvebredden i Wau.

Hyrdestaven var det eneste han nå hadde igjen. Dette oldtidens og bibelhistoriens symbol på fredssommelighet og idyll klemte han fast mellom knærne der han satt på huk i sanden. Av og til lot han fingeren gli forsiktig opp og ned langs den blankpolerte stokken.

Dette var menneskene bak konflikten i Syd-Sudan, de uskyldige som alltid er den store taper i en borgerkrig. For dem var problemet slett ikke komplisert. De hadde fremdeles noe av barnets enfoldige tro på at i en verden av gode og onde mennesker vil de gode til slutt seire, og de onde vil få sin velfortjente straff.

Disse mennene hadde tillit til meg fordi jeg var hvit, en innstilling man ellers sjelden møter blant de innfødte i dagens Afrika. De trodde jeg var engelsk, og det nyttet ikke å forsøke å forklare dem noe annet. De trodde ikke det eksisterte andre hvite menn enn engelskmenn.

— Når du reiser hjem og forteller hva som skjer her i Sudan, så kommer engelskmennene tilbake, sa den gamle mannen skråsikkert.

Han fortsatte: — Da engelskmennene reiste, sa de at nå skulle vi alle være like, enten vi var nord-sudanesere eller syd-sudanesere. Men slik er det ikke blitt. Engelskmennene utdannet noen av våre egne folk til å styre, men nå har de flyktet, og vi har fått noen andre som bare arbeider for araberne. Derfor gråter vi gamle fordi engelskmennene ikke er her

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lenger. De må komme tilbake...

Jeg fortalte noe som jeg trodde ville være til trøst for ham, nemlig at mange «engelskmenn» i Europa er bekymret fordi negrene i Syd-Sudan utsettes for overgrep, men uten direkte å beskyldte meg for løgn, avviste han — fremdeles med barnets enfoldige oppfatning av rett og urett — denne velmente trøst.

— Hadde Europa virkelig villet støtte oss, var de kommet hit med tanks og tunge våpen, slik at vi kunne fått våre rettigheter!

— Kommer du selv til å slåss for dine rettigheter?

Han så fort på meg, og plutselig slo det meg at han kanskje oppfattet spørsmålet som en anklage om feighet.

— Jeg ville ha drept dem med mine egne hender om de ikke hadde hatt geværer. Hadde jeg bare hatt et gevær, ville jeg slåss imorgen.

Han skiftet sittestilling og la gjeterstaven ned på bakken.

**B**ARE noen steinkast bortenfor jordhyttene lå provinsmyndighetenes kontorbygning. Jeg hadde allerede to ganger møtt den arabiske guvernøren og visste at det ikke nyttet å spørre ham om dette.

Syd-Sudan er landet hvor alle ansvarlige lyver. Enten bevisst for å dekke over egne synder eller manglende evne til å temme andres korrupsjon, slik som guvernøren. Eller ubevisst fordi man rett og slett ikke aner hva som foregår.

Guvernøren ble rasende da jeg presset ham for opplysninger om geriljabevegelsens aktivitet i hans provins. Med forakt slo han fast at det nå var bare noen ganske få «opprørere» igjen i provinsen. De hadde absolutt ingen støtte blant sivilbefolkningen, og myndighetene visste godt hvor de befant seg. Jeg spurte hvorfor man da ikke dro ut og grep dem.

Det var da han ble rasende.

Guvernøren ville heller snakke om gjenreisningsarbeidet etter de totale ødeleggelser i Syd-Sudan under kampene i 1965, før den nåværende regjering kom til makten. Under disse blodige kamper ble hundretusener av syd-sudanesere drept eller drevet

på flukt. Krigen var total, all undervisning og annen virksomhet gikk i stå, og tusenvis av landsbyer ble bokstavelig talt jevnet med jorden, enten av regjeringshæren eller av geriljabevegelsen Anya-Nya, som da var på sitt sterkeste.

Om borgerkrigen i Sudan noensinne har hatt karakter av folkemord, så var det under disse myrderiene av sivilpersoner i 1965. I redsel for geriljaen gikk de arabiske soldatene amok og skjøt på alt som rørte seg, og politiet gikk fullstendig i oppløsning da størsteparten av styrken kastet våpen og uniform og strøk til skogs.

Guvernøren fortalte at 95 prosent av alle de skoler som eksisterte i Bahr-el-Ghazal før ødeleggelsene i 1965, nå var i full sving igjen, enten der hvor de opprinnelig holdt til eller på nye steder. Men samtidig nølte ikke skoleinspektøren i den samme provinsen med å avsløre at det stikk motsatte var tilfelle — etter hans beregning var det høyest fem prosent av skolene som funksjonerte.

Denne skoleinspektøren var selv neger fra Syd-Sudan, og til tross for at han nå var ansatt i regjeringens tjeneste, var han ikke redd for å uttrykke sin oppfatning. Ikke alle syd-sudanesere i administrasjonen er vunnet for arabernes sak, og de som har beholdt en kritisk innstilling, sier sin mening med forbausende åpenhet.

Skoleinspektøren fortalte at når han med jevne mellomrom sendte inn forslag om gjenåpning av en skole i den og den landsbyen, fikk han nesten alltid til svar at det var umulig av sikkerhetsmessige grunner.

— Kan det være fordi nord-sudaneserne i virkeligheten helst ikke ser skolene åpne, for at befolkningen i syd ikke skal få utdannelse?

— Det er ikke mine ord.

— Funksjonerer skolene tilfredsstillende i de større byene?

— Nei, selv om statistikken riktignok kan se opplyftende ut. Men tallene er ikke til å stole på, for standarden holder sjelden mål. Når det f.eks. står på papi-

ret at en skole har 120 elever, så kan flesteparten av disse bare ligge utstrakt i skyggen under trærne det meste av dagen...

**D**ET er hensynet til militær strategi og ikke til naturlig bosetting som dirigerer gjenreisningsarbeidet i Syd-Sudan. Befolkningen blir konsentrert om de større byene, mens store områder med potensielt fruktbart land blir liggende avfolket.

Men ikke helt. For geriljabevegelsen Anya-Nya har også noe den skulle ha sagt. Uansett hvor hårdnakket regjeringen hevder å ha full militær kontroll i alle de tre provinsene i Syd-Sudan, så vil selv et barn forstå at en hær på 30 000 mann umulig kan dekke et område på 780 000 kvadratkilometer. I Vietnam har amerikanerne og syd-vietnameserne til sammen hatt en styrke som har vært 30 ganger så stor, på et område som er bare ca. femteparten av Syd-Sudan. Og de oppnådde aldri noe i retning av full kontroll.

Til dette sier sjefen for Khar-toum-regjeringens militære operasjoner i Syd-Sudan, oberst Omer el-Tayeb: — Vi er fullt oppmerksom på dette, men forskjellen er at vi har retten på vår side, mens amerikanerne ikke har det!

Men Anya-Nya hevder også å ha retten på sin side. Riktignok er regjeringshæren med sine moderne våpen og sitt avanserte utstyr for tiden militært overlegen, men det betyr ikke at geriljahæren er uvirksom. Utover landsbygden er den tvertimot høyst nærværende, og der hvor regjeringen foretrekker å la undervisning og administrasjon ligge brakk, har geriljaen sitt apparat i funksjon.

Men dette betyr ikke at det er massiv opplutning blant sivilbefolkningen om geriljaen, dens metoder og dens politiske målsetting. Hadde det eksistert en slik opplutning blant de anslagsvis tre millioner negre som bor i Syd-Sudan, ville nok hele situasjonen vært ganske anderledes farligere for regjeringen.

I virkeligheten er det president Gaafar Nimeri og hans regjering i Khartoum som for tiden repre-

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senterer et håp for negerbefolkningen i Syd-Sudan. Da president Nimeri og hans officerskolleger grep makten i Sudan i mai 1969, la de straks frem en plan for løsning av konflikten.

Riktignok har ikke denne planen foreløbig ført til praktiske resultater av betydning, men objektivt sett later den til å være den eneste farbare vei for Syd-Sudans fremtid. At president Nimeri har en oppriktig vilje til å løse problemet i syd, kan det neppe herske tvil om, men foreløbig har han ikke klart å innpode den samme mentalitet hos det brede lag av offentlige arabiske tjenestemenn i de sydlige provinser.

**N**ORD-SUDAN og Syd-Sudan er nesten som to forskjellige verdener. De sydlige provinsene er lite utviklet i forhold til Nord-Sudan, og innenfor det arabiskdominerte embeds- og funksjonærvesen betraktes det nærmest som en forvisning, eller i beste fall som en slags sosial verneplikt, å bli stasjonert i en av de sydlige provinser. Det er nærmest blitt tradisjon å utnytte tjenestetiden i syd til å berike seg selv.

Denne utbytting kan anta opprørende former, og i den almindelige tilstand av usikkerhet som hersker i Syd-Sudan, florerer uhederligheten grassat. Det er lett å skyve skylden over på geriljahæren, og i denne situasjon er

sivilbefolkningen fullstendig forsvarsløs. Analfabeter og primitive stammefolk kommer aldri noen vei med sine klagemål, og uansett hvilken part de søker støtte hos, så utsetter de seg alltid for represalier fra motpartens side.

Så lenge Syd-Sudan ikke er pasifisert, kan heller ikke regjeringen komme noen vei med sine planer for en økonomisk utvikling av denne delen av landet. Dette krever dessuten ressurser som regjeringen i Khartoum så avgjort ikke har til sin disposisjon. De spredte tiltak som gjøres i denne retning, er derfor preget av tilfeldighet og betinget av støtte fra utlandet, for tiden først og fremst fra østblokken.

Et slående eksempel på denne form for utviklingshjelp er således en stor hermetikkfabrikk som er bygget for sovjetiske midler og etter sovjetisk mønster et stykke utenfor Wau. Et av fabrikkens viktigste produkter er småbokser med tomatpuré. Slike bokser kan fabrikkens produsere opptil 20000 av i døgnet.

Råstoffet til denne tomatpuréen kommer til Syd-Sudan i form av hermetisk tomatpuré fra Bulgaria. Boksene fra Bulgaria rommer fem liter og åpnes for hånden i den ene enden av fabrikkens, blandes noe opp med vann, går inn i det automatiserte

anlegget og kommer ut på mindre bokser.

Fabrikkens fremstiller også hermetisk frukt og kjøtt med råstoffer fra Sudan, men ompakningen av tomatpuré er den viktigste virksomhet ved anlegget.

Det var tid for mennene rundt trekullilden til å bryte opp. De var tilsynelatende helt bekymringsløse da de tok avskjed. De lo og småpludret seg imellom da de forsvant mellom hyttene og blandet seg med resten av befolkningen.

Ingen kunne se på dem at de var hjemsoekt av den dypeste tragedie og at de var rettsløse i sitt eget hjemland.

Jeg vekslet noen ord med tolken til slutt. Han var selv dinka — av samme stamme som mennene som nettopp hadde forlatt oss. Tidligere på dagen hadde jeg sett ham drikke te ved samme bord som to arabiske tjenestemenn, og jeg spurte hvordan han kunne klare å sitte til bords med folk som drepte og ranet hans egne stammefeller.

Det var selvfølgelig i tonefallet hans da han svarte: — Hos oss er gjestfriheten hellig. Vi sitter sammen med araberne fordi dette er vårt land, og de som kommer nordfra, er våre gjester!

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A-MAGASINET (Weekly insert of AFTENPOSTEN), Oslo  
April 24, 1971, pp 16-18

#### PLIGHT OF SOUTH SUDAN'S CIVILIAN POPULATION

Article by Fredrik Schjander

CPYRGHT

In the general conditions of insecurity prevalent in South Sudan, dishonesty runs rampant. It is almost a tradition among the Arab civil servants to make use of their involuntary periods of service in the South to enrich themselves. In this situation the civilian population is without justice and defenseless. Illiterates and primitive tribal members never get anywhere with their complaints, and regardless of which side they seek support from they are always exposed to reprisals from the other side.

"I am an old man. Now they have taken my cows. How am I to make a living?"

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the old Negro made a gesture of resignation. The rattle of the thin copper bracelets around his wrist made the question in his voice audible.

Nevertheless, it was not a question. It would be absurd to expect that I -- a white man from a city society in a country far from Africa -- would be able to point out to him a new way of life. It was an accusation.

The bracelets and a similar adornment around his neck revealed that he was of high birth in the village he came from.

The emaciated figure was wrapped in a rust-red, battered toga. Other clothing he had not. His feet were bare, with rough and cracked skin. All his life he had stepped in mud, sand and soil without protection for his feet.

Some of his fellow tribesmen sat with him. They had come here to Wau by railroad, in a cattle car.

They had had a faint hope that here in the provincial capital they would find people to listen to their case and secure justice for them. After three days, they now understood that they had made the journey in vain.

An acrid smell emanated from the charcoal fires in front of us. Around us stood a cluster of earthen huts, their straw roofs pointing dejectedly toward the ground.

The old man used few words to explain what had happened. His dialect was poor in dramatics, and his tale was probably made even simpler in the interpreter's hesitant translation into English.

It was a tale of murder and robbery one day in January, in a village in Aweil, in Bahr el-Ghazal in South Sudan. The assailants were a semi-military detachment that burned village huts and stole what they could of cattle and goats. Those who resisted to protect their property were shot on the spot.

The men with me knew very well who the terrorists were and could, in fact, name most of them. They were Negroes like themselves, but bought, paid and organized by Arab civil servants. The stolen animals were driven to Wau and other large markets to be sold. The old man with the copper ornaments had the very same morning recognized some of his own cattle by the river bank in Wau.

His shepherd's staff was the only thing he now had left. This symbol of peaceableness and idyl of antiquity and biblical times he was pressing between his knees where he squatted in the sand. Now and then he carefully ran his fingers up and down the polished staff.

These were the human beings behind the conflict in South Sudan; the innocents who are always the big losers in a civil war. To them, the problem was not at all complicated. They still had some of the child's belief that in a world of good and evil men, the good men will in the end be victorious and the evil will get the punishment they deserve.

These men had confidence in me because I was white; an attitude one seldom encounters in Africa today. They thought I was English, and it was useless to attempt to explain to them that I was not. They did not believe that other white men than Englishmen existed.

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"When you go home and describe what is happening here in Sudan, the Englishmen will return," said the old man with assurance. He went on: "When the Englishmen left, they said that now we would all be equals, whether we were North Sudanese or South Sudanese. But this has not come to pass. The Englishmen trained some of our own people to rule, but they have now fled, and now we have others who work only for the Arabs. Therefore we old people weep, because the English are no longer here. They must come back ..."

I told him something I thought would be of comfort to him, namely that many "Englishmen" in Europe are troubled because the Negroes of South Sudan are exposed to acts of terror, but, without directly accusing me of lying, he rejected -- still holding to the child's simple view of right and wrong -- this well intentioned consolation.

"Had Europe really wanted to help us, they would have come here with tanks and heavy weapons, so that we might get our rights!"

"Will you yourself fight for your rights?"

He looked up at me quickly, and it suddenly struck me that perhaps he regarded the question as an accusation of cowardice.

"I would have killed them with my own hands if they had not had guns. If I only had a gun I would fight tomorrow."

He shifted his position and put his staff on the ground.

Only a stone's throw from the earthen huts stood the office building of the provincial authorities. I had already met the Arab governor twice and knew it was useless to ask him about this.

South Sudan is a country where all those in positions of responsibility lie. Either consciously to hide their own sins or, like the Governor, because he is unable to suppress corruption by others. Or unconsciously because one simply has no idea of what is going on.

The Governor became furious when I pressed him for information on the activities of the guerrillas in his province. Contemptuously, he asserted that there were now only a very few "rebels" left in the province. They had absolutely no support among the civilian population and the authorities knew very well where they were to be found. I asked him why, then, they were not seized. That was when he became furious.

The Governor would rather talk about reconstruction work after the total destruction in South Sudan during the fighting in 1965, before the present government came to power. In the course of this bloody struggle, hundreds of thousands of South Sudanese were killed or driven to flight. The war was total; all education and other activity stopped, and thousands of villages were literally razed to the ground, either by government troops or by the Anya-Nya, the guerrilla movement, which was at that time at its strongest.

If the civil war in Sudan has ever been in the nature of genocide it was during this murdering of civilians in 1965. In terror of the guerrillas, the Arab soldiers ran amok, shooting at anything that moved, and the police dissolved completely when the greater part of the force threw away their weapons and uniforms and fled to the forest.

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The Governor said that 95 percent of the schools that existed in Barr-el-Ghazal before the devastation of 1965 were now in full swing again, either in their original buildings or in new places. At the same time, however, the school inspector in the same province did not hesitate to reveal that the contrary was the case -- according to his calculations, five percent of the schools at most were functioning.

This school inspector was himself a Negro from South Sudan, and despite the fact that he was now in the service of the government he was not afraid to state his views. Not all of the South Sudanese in the administration have been won over to the cause of the Arabs, and those who have retained a critical attitude state their opinions with surprising candor.

The school inspector said that when at regular intervals he submitted proposals for reopening a school in some village, the reply was almost always that it was impossible for reasons of security.

"Could that be because the North Sudanese would in reality rather see the schools kept closed, so that the population of the South will get no education?"

"Those are not my words."

"Do the schools function satisfactorily in the larger cities?"

"No. Even though the statistics may seem encouraging. But the figures cannot be relied upon, for the teaching is seldom up to standard. When, for example, it is stated that a school has 120 pupils, most of them may merely lie stretched out in the shade of trees most of the day."

Consideration of military strategy, not settlement in a natural way, guides the reconstruction work in South Sudan. The population is being concentrated around the larger cities, while large areas with potentially fertile land are left lying depopulated.

But not entirely. The Anya-Nya, the guerrilla movement, also has something to say about it. Regardless of how stubbornly the government claims to have full military control in all three provinces of South Sudan, even a child would understand that an army of 30,000 men cannot possibly cover an area of 780,000 square kilometers. In Vietnam, the Americans and the South Vietnamese together have had a force 30 times as large, in an area in size only one-fifth of that of South Sudan. And they never gained anything resembling full control.

Concerning this, Colonel Omer el-Tayeb, chief of the Khartoum government's military operations in South Sudan, says: "We are fully aware of this, but the difference is that we have justice on our side, while the Americans do not!"

But the Anya-Nya also claims to have justice on its side. To be sure, the government army, with its modern weapons and advanced equipment, is at the present time militarily superior, but this does not mean that the guerrilla army is inactive. On the contrary, in the country districts it is very much present, and where the government prefers to let education and administration lie idle the guerrilla apparatus is functioning.

This does not mean, however, that massive support of the guerrillas and their methods and political goals exists in the civilian population. Had such support

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existed among the estimated three million Negroes living in South Sudan, the whole situation would probably have been much more serious for the government.

In reality, it is President Gaafar Nimeri and his government in Khartoum who at the present time represent a hope for the Negro population of South Sudan. When President Nimeri and his officer colleagues seized power in Sudan in May, 1965, they immediately presented a plan for solution of the conflict.

To be sure, this plan has for the present led to no practical results of importance, but viewed objectively it seems to be the only passable road for the future of South Sudan. That President Nimeri is honestly desirous of solving the problem in the South can hardly be doubted, but up to the present he has been unable to implant the same thinking among the majority of the Arab civil servants in the southern provinces.

North Sudan and South Sudan are almost like two different worlds. The southern provinces are underdeveloped compared to North Sudan, and among the Arab officials and civil servants it is regarded almost as a banishment or, at best, a social defense responsibility, to be stationed in the southern provinces. It has almost become a tradition to make use of the assignment to the South to enrich oneself.

This exploitation can assume shocking forms, and in the general condition of insecurity prevalent in South Sudan, dishonesty flourishes. It is easy to blame the guerrilla forces, and in this situation the civilian population is completely defenseless. Illiterates and primitive tribal members never get anywhere with their complaints, and regardless of which side they seek support from they are always exposed to reprisals from the other side.

Nor can the government, as long as South Sudan is not pacified, get anywhere with its plans for economic development of this part of the country. Moreover, this demands resources the Khartoum government decidedly does not have at its disposal. The scattered efforts made in this direction are therefore characterized by chance and dependent upon support from abroad, first and foremost from the Communist bloc.

A striking example of this form of development aid is the large canning plant, built by Soviet funds and on the Soviet pattern some distance outside of Wau. One of the plant's most important products is small cans of tomato sauce. The plant can produce up to 20,000 such cans per day.

The raw material for this tomato sauce comes from Bulgaria in the form of canned tomato sauce, in cans containing five liters. These cans are opened at one end of the plant, the sauce is mixed with some water and enters the automated equipment, to emerge in smaller cans.

The plant also produces canned fruits and meat from Sudanese raw materials, but the repacking of the tomato sauce is the plant's most important activity.

It was time for the men around the charcoal fire to leave. They were apparently completely without worries as they said goodbye. They laughed and chatted as they disappeared among the huts and mixed with the rest of the people.

Nobody could tell by looking at them that they had been struck by tragedy and were without justice in their own land.

Finally, I exchanged a few words with the interpreter. He was himself a

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Dinka, of the same tribe as the men who had just left us. Earlier on the same day I had seen him drink tea at the same table with two Arab civil servants, and I asked him how he could endure sitting at a table with people who killed and robbed his own fellow tribesmen.

His tone of voice was matter of course when he replied: "With us, hospitality is sacred. We sit with the Arabs because this is our country and those who come from the North are our guests!"

MORGENBLADET, Oslo

April 27, 1971

**Krigen i Syd-Sudan:**

CPYRGHT

# „En krig mellom raser”, sier Anya-nya talsmann

Av GUNNAR MOE

— Hvis regjeringen i Khartoum er så sikker i sin sak, at det er blitt bedre i Syd-Sudan, og hvis de viser ekte vilje til en fredelig løsning, hvorfor kan de ikke da tillate observatører fra FN, Røde Kors eller andre humanitære og internasjonale organisasjoner å reise inn i området for å se om dette er riktig?

Det er en representant for den syd-sudanesiske frigjøringsbevegelse, herr Theofilo Occang-Lotti, som sa dette på en pressekonferanse arrangert av Sudan-Komitéen i Oslo i går.

— Regjeringen i Khartoum hevder at det er først nu, etter at det nye regime kom til makten i mai ifjor, at det finnes en virkelig vilje til en fredelig løsning av konflikten?

— Dette er ganske enkelt ikke sant. Det er blitt verre etterat oberst Nimery kom til makten. De liker å fremstille seg som et progressivt regime, men i praksis er de noe helt annet. F.eks. er

det sudanesiske kommunistparti nu blitt forbudt, og medlemmene sitter i fengsel. Dette partiet var det eneste i Sudan som gikk inn for en rimeligere holdning til folket i Syd-Sudan, sier Occang-Lotti.

— En annen faktor er at bombingene av landsbyer i syd ble gjenopptatt av Nimerys regjering — for første gang siden 1963. Før Nimery var der heller ikke utenlandske soldater i Syd-Sudan. Nu er mer enn 3000 egyptiske soldater, og flere russiske rådgivere og flyvere, stasjonert i byene i syd. Før Nimery var der «bare» 20 000 regjeringstropper i syd; i dag er tallet øket til 30 000. På toppen av det hele har Nimerys tropper gått så langt som å forfølge flyktninger helt inn på ugandisk territorium! Dette skjedde senest den 25. januar i år. Synes De dette vidner om en bedre vilje til fredelig løsning? spør Occang-Lotti.

Theofilo Occang-Lotti er utsendt som en offisiell representant for Anya-Nyas provisoriske regjering i Syd-Sudan. Han har ganske nylig vært inne i selve bushen, og kjenner den aktuelle situasjon der ganske godt. Ved siden av sin virksomhet for Anya-Nya studerer han også medisin i Italia. Tidligere har han også studert i Uganda.

## FINANSIERES FRA EGNE KILDER

— Hvorfor får dere ikke politisk støtte fra nabolandene eller

fra andre afrikanske land?

— Dette er meget vanskelig for dem, fordi Organisasjonen for Afrikansk Enhet (OAU) forbyr alle medlemsstater å blande seg inn i et annet lands indre anliggender. Syd-Sudan ansees som Sudans interne problem. Dessuten har Nigeria/Biafra-konflikten satt en støkk i de fleste afrikanske politikere. Og OAU er viktig for dem, ikke minst fordi Egypt — Sudans forbundsfele — er en av de største finansielle kilder til organisasjonens drift. Egypt yder også store summer til den væpnede kamp mot apartheid i Syd-Afrika.

## KRIG MELLOM TO KULTURER

Ingen kan hjelpe oss, uten å tape på det selv.

— Hvorfor er egentlig araberne så ivrige etter å beholde Syd-Sudan?

— Deres primære mål er å ut-slette den afrikanske rase i området, og gjøre det helt og holdent til arabisk domene. De må utslette oss for å klare dette. De må begå et folkemord for å nå sitt mål. For i dag er hele den afrikanske befolkning i Syd-Sudan blitt klar over situasjonen, alle forstår nu hva som egentlig står på spill: Det er en krig mellom to raser, to kulturer.

— Araberne trenger Syd-Sudan som produsent av viktige råmaterialer, forteller han. F.eks. kommer hele Sudans kon-

sumpsjon av sukker, frukter, papir osv. fra syd.

#### FOLKEAVSTEMNING

Frigjøringsbevegelsens betingelser for en fredelig løsning er ganske klare, mener den 23 år gamle Occang-Lotti: 1. Våpenhvile, samtidig som alle soldater trekkes ut av Syd-Sudan. 2. At Røde Kors, FN og andre hjelpeorganisasjoner får full adgang til området for å komme det lidende folket til unnsetning, og 3. Forhandlinger mellom Anya-Nya og Khartoum-regjeringen må foregå i en nøytral afrikansk stat, med tilstedeværelse av FN-observatører.

Frigjøringsbevegelsen mener at en folkeavstemning i Syd-Sudan skal ta endelig stilling til et forslag til forlik.

I dag kommer en offisiell 8-manns regjeringsdelegasjon fra Sudan hit til Oslo, og Occang-Lotti forteller at en av hensiktene med hans eget besøk er å korrigere og balansere de opplysninger og de påstander som Khartoum-delegasjonen vil komme med. — Jeg er rede til å møte dem i en åpen diskusjon, når som helst og hvor som helst, sier Occang-Lotti.

#### LEGEHJELP TIL BUSHEN

Pressekonferansen igår ble ledet av Syd-Sudan-komiteens formann, lagdommer Alf W. Østensen, som understreket det store behov for legehjelp inne i bushen i Syd-Sudan, dit folket har trukket seg tilbake i frykt for soldatene. Østensen uttalte at Syd-Sudan-komiteen har satt seg som sin første oppgave å undersøke om det er politiske muligheter for en snarlig fredsslutning, og dermed overgang til normalt liv i området.

Det er også nylig brutt ut alvorlige koppe- og koleraepidemier blant folket inne i bushen i Syd-Sudan.

MORGENBLADET, Oslo  
April 27, 1971

ANYA-NYA SPOKESMAN TELLS OF INTER-RACIAL WAR IN SUDAN

CPYRGHT

Article by Gunnar Moe

"If the Khartoum government is so sure that things have become better in the Southern Sudan and if their desire for a peaceful solution is genuine, why don't they allow observers from the United Nations, the Red Cross, or some other international humanitarian organization to enter the area and see if this is correct?"

A representative of the Southern Sudan liberation movement, Mr. Theofilo Occang-Lotti, spoke these words yesterday at a press conference in Oslo arranged by the Sudan committee.

He was asked about the claim of the Khartoum government that it has only been since the new regime came to power last May that a real desire to resolve the conflict peacefully has existed.

"That is simply not true. Things have been worse since Colonel Nimery came into power. They like to represent themselves as a progressive government, but in practice it is quite different. For example, the Sudanese Communist Party has been banned now and its members have been thrown into jail. This party was the only one in Sudan that favored a more reasonable attitude toward the people of Southern Sudan," said Occang-Lotti.

"Another factor is that bombing villages in the South has been started again by Nimery's government -- for the first time since 1963. Before Nimery took over, there were no foreign soldiers in Southern Sudan. Now there are over 3000 Egyptian soldiers and several Russian advisers and pilots stationed in the cities in the South. Before Nimery took over, there were 'only' 20,000 government troops in the South; today the figure has increased to 30,000. On top of all that, Nimery's troops have gone so far as to pursue refugees all the way onto Uganda territory! This happened as recently as 25 January. Do you think this shows a more genuine desire for a peaceful solution?" Occang Lotti asked.

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Theofilo Occang-Lotti was sent abroad as an official representative of the Anya-Nya's provisional government in Southern Sudan. He came out of the bush very recently and knows the up-to-date situation there quite well. Besides his activity for the Anya-Nya, he is also studying medicine in Italy. He has also studied in Uganda.

#### Financed by Own Sources

He was asked why they did not receive political support from neighboring countries or the other African nations.

"It is very difficult for them, because the OAU (Organization for African Unity) prohibits all member states from intervening in the internal affairs of another country. Southern Sudan is regarded as an internal problem of Sudan. Besides that, the Nigeria-Biafra conflict alarmed most African politicians. And the OAU is important to them, not least because Egypt -- Sudan's ally -- is one of the biggest financial sources for the economy of the organization. Egypt also gives large sums to the armed fight against apartheid in South Africa.

#### War Between Two Cultures

"No one can help us without losing by it themselves."

We asked why the Arabs were so anxious to keep Southern Sudan under their control.

"Their primary goal is to wipe out the African race in the area, making it into an entirely Arab domain. They have to wipe us out in order to achieve this. They must commit genocide to reach their goal. For today the entire African population of Southern Sudan understands the situation clearly, everybody now knows what is really at stake -- this is a war between two races, two cultures.

"The Arabs need Southern Sudan as a producer of vital raw materials," he said. "For example, the entire Sudanese consumption of sugar, fruit, paper, etc., comes from the South."

#### Referendum

The liberation movement's conditions for a peaceful solution are quite clear, according to the 23-year-old Occang-Lotti -- 1. A truce, with all soldiers being pulled out of Southern Sudan; 2. The Red Cross, United Nations, and other relief organizations gain free admission to the area in order to help the suffering people; 3. Negotiations between the Anya-Nya and the Khartoum government to take place in a neutral African country with U.N. observers present.

The liberation movement thinks that Southern Sudan should hold a referendum to make the final decision on a proposed agreement.

Today an 8-man official delegation from the Sudanese government is arriving in Oslo and Occang-Lotti said that one of the reasons for his own visit was to correct and balance the information and statements to be made public by the Khartoum delegation. "I am ready to face them in open discussion anywhere and at any time," said Occang-Lotti.

#### Medical Help to the Bush

The press conference yesterday was directed by the chairman of the Southern

53  
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Sudan committee, Judge Alf W. Ostensen, who stressed the great need for medical help to the bush of Southern Sudan, where the people have fled to escape the dreaded soldiers. Ostensen said that the first task set by the Southern Sudan committee is to investigate the political possibilities of a quick peace settlement, leading to the return to normal life in the area.

Serious smallpox and cholera epidemics have recently broken out among the people in the bush of Southern Sudan.

Wednesday, March 24, 1971

Minneapolis

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Letters  
from readers

DAILY TELEGRAPH  
April 12, 1971

## SUDAN CHOLERA 'IGNORED'

By Our Correspondent in  
Kampala

Forty people have died from cholera in a single southern Sudan village during a widespread outbreak of the disease. The outbreak has not yet been announced by the Sudan Government, according to refugee sources in Kampala, Uganda.

The refugees say the Government is content to allow the disease to kill a large part of the African population which has been fighting it for years. They claimed hospital treatment is only available to Arab north-erners and Sudanese troops.

## Whitney Young's death

The sudden death of Whitney Young Jr. comes as a shock to the black race everywhere and to all peace-loving people of the world. As a black African national, I am grieved by his death at the time when he is needed most. His death is a great loss to the cause of civil rights and human rights, not only in America alone, but everywhere in the world where there is injustice, oppression and exploitation of mankind.

In 1968 he wrote: "Arabs were enslaving black people long before Americans imported slaves and are still doing so today in the Sudan . . . For the past 10 years arms supplied by Arab countries have been used in this war to massacre many thousands of black Sudanese who want their independence."

These words from Whitney Young are words of justice and equality to all oppressed black people. The black people in America and their brothers in Africa will miss him. — Dominic A. Mohamed, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

Approved For Release 1999/09/02 : CIA-RDP79-01194A000300070001-6

CPYRGHT

## Grieved by Mr. Young's Death

To the Editor:

The sudden death of Whitney Young Jr. comes as a shock to the Black race everywhere and to all peace loving people of the world. As a Black African National, I am grieved by his death at the time when he is needed most. His death is a great loss to the cause of civil rights and human rights not only in America alone, but everywhere in the world where there is injustice, oppression, and exploitation of mankind.

His concern for the Black people everywhere was evidenced by his statement

in the Amsterdam News, New York, of November 1968 titled "The Slave Traders." There he said, "Black Americans especially ought to question some of the Black Nationalists who are so openly pro-Arab, about the Egyptian role in the slaughter of Black people in the Southern Sudan." He continued that he has . . . "never been able to understand the love affair between some Black Nationalist spokesmen and the Arab world." Whereby he continued to say, "Arabs were enslaving Black people long before Americans

imported slaves, and are still doing so today in the Sudan."

Mr. Young Admonished that Arabs have been waging civil war against Black African people in the Southern Sudan. He continued to say in the article that . . . "for the past ten years arms supplied by Arab countries have been used in this war to massacre many thousands of Black Sudanese who want their independence."

These words from Whitney Young are words of jus-

tice and equality to all oppressed Black people. Mr. Young, in this article, was lamenting the subjugation and oppression of Black people everywhere. These Black people in America and their brothers in Africa will miss him. These words of Mr. Young should be a signal to all Black people and to all mankind with good conscience to rise and ask themselves these questions: For how long will the Black people of Southern Sudan suffer from Arab barbarism, imperialism and oppression? For how long must the world pretentiously remain silent while witnessing mass genocide of helpless Africans by the Arabs? Although Whitney Young has passed away, his concern for the Black race, and for equality and justice, will ever remain as a living memory.—

**Dominic A. Mohamed**

MINNESOTA

**daily**

MONDAY,  
MAY 24, 1971  
VOL. 72 NO. 159

CPYRGHT

MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL, MINN.

## Afro-students demand end to Sudan 'genocide'

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** For the past 16 years a racial-religious war has been taking place between the Black Africans of the Southern Sudan and the Arabs in the Northern Sudan. In that time more than 500,000 Black Africans have become displaced. With respect to that war, members of the African Students Association and the Afro-American Student Association of the University have adopted the following resolution:

**We...**

**CALL UPON THE UNITED NATIONS** to undertake immediately a formal in-

vestigation of the situation of the Black Africans in the Southern Sudan, with special attention to the denial of their political, civil and religious rights and liberties.

**CALL UPON THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)** to intervene immediately to end the genocide and sufferings of African people of the Southern Sudan.

**URGE THE OAU** to realize that Africa is its people before it is its government, that the continuous killing of the Black African people of the Southern Sudan by the Northern Arabs and the silence of Black leaders of African countries who are members of OAU, makes meaningless the concept and notion of African unity and



independence.

CALL UPON OAU and heads of the Black African states and governments to recognize what seems to us a double standard with which the Arabs are dealing with them in the OAU conferences where the Arabs suppress any discussion and mentioning of the Sudan racial, political, social, economical and cultural war in the Sudan on the pretext that it is an internal issue while at the same time these very same Arab heads of states turn around in their exclusive Arab League of Nations conferences to discuss and act as a war cabinet against the Black African people of the Southern Sudan.

URGE that the High Commissioner for refugees, the World Council of Churches, the Red Cross, and other humanitarian world relief aid agencies become more concerned with the humanitarian plight of the African civilian population of the Southern Sudan.

CALL UPON all peace loving nations and

people of the world to support the just cause of the Black people of the Southern Sudan.

SUGGEST that the OAU and UN establish a peace-keeping force to restore to the Black Africans of the Southern Sudan appropriate political, economical, civil and religious rights consistent with UN Human Rights Charter.

CONDEMN a geographical forced unity which is maintained by force of arms.

CONDEMN the Khartoum Arab government's denial to the Black African people religious, cultural, linguistic and political diversity and heterogeneity.

CONDEMN the actions of the Arab government of Khartoum for its intimidation, burning, imprisonment, public execution, arbitrary arrests, murder, arson and campaign of terror and genocide of the Black people of the Southern Sudan.

CONDEMN the participation of foreign, imperialistic countries, namely the Soviet Union, East Germany, Red China and other Communist Bloc nations.

CONDEMN the ganging of Arab League nations on the Southern Sudan African people.

MINNESOTA

daily

FRIDAY,  
MAY 7, 1971  
VOL. 72 NO. 148

CPYRGHT

MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL, MINN.

Dominic N.  
Rultan

## / Afro-Arab War in the Sudan

In both Northern and Southern Africa, the Black man continues to suffer degradation and inhuman treatment that defies description. Africans rant and rave over apartheid in South Africa and repression and discrimination in Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola which are in the hands of a few white "settlers"—but seemingly put a hood over their eyes at the policy of extinction by the Moslem Arabs of North Africa where Black Africans are being slaughtered every day by the Arab military regime of the Northern Sudan. This is the most bitter and most devastating conflict in Africa, where the total casualties in this unknown war far outstrip that of the Nigerian civil war. Like the Nigerian conflict, this Afro-

Arab war has religious and cultural overtones, but in addition there is also a very sharp racial overtone.

Northern Sudan is Islamic while the South is partly Christian, partly pagan. Of the country's 14 million persons, 9 million live in six Arab provinces in the North while 5 million Blacks live in three African provinces in the South. The North is Arab, the South is African.

Before Independence from Anglo-Egyptian colonial administration. Southern Sudan was strictly administered by the British, while the North was administered by both Egyptians and British officials. Southern Sudan received Christian missionaries. English and African languages were taught in the Christian

schools. Mission schools, churches and hospitals thrived with the people for some 50 years, and Christian and African principles and ideals became the prevailing life style in the Southern Sudan.

When independence finally arrived in 1956 against the stiff opposition of the Southern Sudanese Africans who opted for a federal structure as the least compromise with the North, the whole Sudan was lumped together into a forced unity. This blunder by the British and Egyptian colonial governments is partly responsible for the present conflict and human suffering in Southern Sudan.

In 1958-64 General Ibrahim Abboud, one of the military Arab rulers from the Northern Sudan used brute force in dealing with

Christians, their churches, schools, other established institutions and the social-cultural character of the Black Africans. All Christian schools were seized by the Arab government and all teachers and Christian missionaries were expelled. Arabic was declared the official language. Islamic religion was adopted as the state religion. Friday instead of Sunday became the day of rest and worship. In effect, the rights to freedom of worship, education and speech were summarily abolished in the African South. This Arab imperialistic move, more than the historical enmity formed during the slavery era when the Arabs were slave raiders using the South as a slave hunting ground for African slaves, helped intensify the resistance by the African population of Southern Sudan for the past 16 years.

Historically, the whole of Sudan had never been an Arab land until after the spread of Islam in the Middle East. The word "Sudan" means the "land of Black people," but now it is an occupied territory controlled by the Moslem Arabs, mostly descendants of Egyptian Arabs. That the Northern Sudan is an Egyptian outpost is borne out by the fact that this area looks toward the United Arab Republics (Egypt, Libya, Syria) and the Arab world for its type of inspiration of nationalism. In contrast, the Black African South and its people look upon independent Black African nations for inspiration in their struggle for self-determination.

The Sudan is a classic example of a divided nation which has nothing in common with its social and political identity. It is divided in religion as well as in ethnic kinship, in its geography and in its history. The two parts have nothing in common except the River Nile which flows from the South into the North. Current Arab brutality, oppression, repression and genocide of Black Africans does not show any signs of subsiding. None of the Black African countries or their leaders support the genocide of African people in the Southern Sudan, but their present emphasis seems to be diverted by the vague concept of African unity, which the Arabs use as a reason for colonizing the Africans in Southern Sudan. The Arabs reject the African proposition of adopting a confederal or federal system that will accommodate the African South

and the Arab North giving each a right to self-determination.

The Southern Sudanese Africans ask only to be allowed the right to determine their future in an independent Sudan. Current North Arab policies of oppression, repression, brutality and extermination do not offer an environment where this right can thrive freely. The most alarming thing is that most Arabs still regard Africans as slaves.

Disregard and contempt for Black Africans by the Arabs of northern Africa is not limited only to the Sudanese scene. During the Pan-African Art Festival in Algeria two years ago, there were reports in the press that black artists were discriminated against by their Arab counterparts. As can be testified by any African student in most universities and other educational institutions throughout the world, significantly by those in universities and colleges in the U.S., most Arab students from Africa do not have close relationships with Black African students nor are they enthusiastic in seeking identity and membership in African student organizations. In their priority of Arab first, these students pay only lip service to African problems in Southern Africa. Experience has it that it is only when it is politically advantageous to them that these Arabs remember their geographical affiliation with Africa, for example, when they need African-student political support. If enlightened Arabs can exhibit this disgraceful behavior, it becomes disquieting to think of what will be the behavior of their less-educated and vastly illiterate brethren in their relations with Africans. Africans, no doubt, will still be regarded as those hunted and raided.

Arab apathy on Africa and Africans may well define the future international politics on the African continent. It is true that Egypt sends token supportive arms to African freedom fighters in Angola and Mozambique. But at the same time she transfers Russian arms and MIGS to the Arab government of Northern Sudan for the slaughtering and enslaving of Black Africans in Southern Sudan.

The question is whether the token arms provided African freedom fighters is not used as a serum to weaken the nerve of what could have been African opposition

to the Southern Sudanese slaughter.

Black Africans will not continue to use their kin in Southern Sudan as price for token arms. Arabs are perpetuating genocide in Southern Sudan. President Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, has declared that only the lack of funds had stopped him from sending a contingent to fight alongside Africans resisting extermination in Southern Sudan. Kamuzu Banda may not have sounded an all-African concern, but he has kicked up the dust which will soon turn into a sandy blast that will corrode the relationship (if there is any) that exists between Africans and Arabs.

The basic problems of Africa include among other things, conscious Arab extermination of Africans in the North and the intransigence and suppression of Africans in the south of Africa. Any well-meaning African organization should address itself vigorously to these problems.

The Arabization policies of the Sudanese government were enunciated in 1962 by Governor Ali Baldo of Sudan's Equatoria province when he instructed the military men operating in Southern Sudan to "kill all African males; take no prisoners; collect and transport the women and children to the North; spare no Christian preacher and kill all educated Africans on the spot."

In opposition to these Arab decrees, the Africans nevertheless have mounted a resistance of their own through the Anya Nya guerrilla movement. In fifteen years they have grown to be very powerful and effective. They fight Arab regulars with spears and arrows and with the arms they capture from the Arab troops. One Western journalist commented that the great victory of the Arab government in Sudan is the success in keeping this war wrapped up in a plot of silence.

Black people all over the world owe it to themselves to break this silence of Black genocide and bring the Arab government of Sudan to opprobrium. While the Arabs are in a life struggle with their Israeli foes in the Middle East, they must be extremely careful not to create a Middle Africa situation which will result in essentially the same situation between them and Africans. The Southern Sudan is potentially a Middle Africa situation.

# PREVENT WORLD WAR III

No. 77  
WINTER-SPRING 1977

Published by

## Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc.

50 WEST 57th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019

### *Mass Murder in the Sudan*

CPYRGHT  
CPYRGHT

By James H. Sheldon

*In 1968 Prevent World War III published an article entitled "Africa's Hidden Shame: Here Arabs May Kill Negroes." This was the first major American exposé of the murderous war which has been waged in the Sudan since 1955.*

*Congressman James Scheuer (D., N.Y.) introduced the entire text into the Congressional Record, remarking that: "The 7 million Arabized Moslem northerners are engaged in what amounts to a war of genocide against the 4 million non-Moslem, non-Arab southerners."*

*The article (including a French translation) helped to awaken world concern about one of the darkest pages of contemporary history. We continue the story in this issue.*

The struggle of millions of black Africans in the Sudan, to retain their freedom and their very lives against genocidal oppression by an Arab government, is one of the great tragedies of our times.

In the Southern Sudan, this conflict has already led to violent death for a half-million black people, widespread starvation

and pestilence resulting in more deaths, and the forced exile of 300,000 men, women and children.

There is a sickening parallel to Hitler's campaign of extermination against the Jews of Germany, a generation ago. Yet, the story is mostly untold in the outside world, and the terrible facts have barely commenced to make an impression

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The huge Sudan lies just South of Egypt. In area, it is Africa's largest nation. Arabized Moslems living in the Northern section constitute only a minority of the population, but they control the left-leaning dictatorial government, headquartered in Khartoum. The black African majority find themselves dispossessed—especially the 4.5 million concentrated in the three Southern provinces, where an organized popular movement has been struggling for fifteen years to gain political and civil rights.

From the very beginning of Sudanese independence the black Africans have been restive under Khartoum rule, because they remember long centuries of the slave trade, during which the Arabs were the principal dealers in human merchandise.

Moreover, the Africans in the South are of a different culture and religion—Christian, in the towns and cities, and pagan in the countryside. There are also economic factors: The South contains most of the Sudan's water supply, and is a potentially rich agricultural area. As viewed by the politically dominant Arab North, it is a region ripe for colonization.

Not long after the end of British administration, the Arab government began an all-out campaign to destroy local institutions in the South, and to forcibly substitute Islam for other religions. Christian missionaries—231 Roman Catholic and 51 Protestant—were expelled. In some instances native priests were killed outright. Mission schools—usually the only source of local education—were ordered closed. Churches were destroyed, and mosques were erected at public expense. Non-Moslem leaders were driven out, or killed.

What happened next is graphically summed up in a petition which a delegation representing the Southern Sudanese people presented to the President of the United Nations General Assembly in December, 1970.\* We quote from it:

*"Since the year 1962 nearly one million South Sudanese men, women and children have perished either through deprivation, famine and disease, or they have been shot dead.*

*"About 300,000 others live as refugees in the neighboring countries of Uganda, Congo, Kenya, Ethiopia and the Central African Republic. Those left in South Sudan live equally as refugees, hiding in tropical forests and mountains. . . .*

*"The crime of genocide has been committed and is being committed against 4 million people of South Sudan because they are black, because they are African and because they*

#### Sudan Slaughter Ignored By Most of World

**The struggle of Negroes against Arabs in the Sudan has produced half a million black casualties (the southern Sudanese say a million) and dispossessed many more. . . .**

**In an attempt to subjugate the Southern region, the Sudanese army burned scores of villages, held hundreds of women as concubines, enlisted the population for forced labor squads and sent Southern politicians to be jailed in the North.**

—Toronto Telegram, 11-27-70

*do not belong to the dominant religion of the North."*

The details of the struggle are of a kind that one usually finds only in horror movies.

The Khartoum regime, backed up by military manpower and equipment from Egypt and Libya, and with support from Algeria and other Arab states, sent into the South an army that now totals 25,000, with headquarters at the regional capital, Juba. Sophisticated arms, including MIG planes, were supplied by the Soviets, and Soviet advisors are reported in Juba. Finances came from outside, including an initial gift of \$5.5 million from the oil-rich sheikdom of Kuwait.

The Southern inhabitants, unwilling to

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submit, armed themselves with left-over weapons brought in from the Congo, with captured equipment, or with ancient tribal spears. Here are some incidents from the unequal contest:

In 1965, following the arrival of the first major forces from Khartoum, 1400 people were massacred in Juba. At the town of Torit, 150 were killed. At Yei-Yambio, 450 more; at Kapoeta, 87, and so on.

Soon native villages were emptied as their people fled into the jungles and marshes. Then a campaign was started against the herds of cattle on which the Africans depend principally for food and livelihood. In December of 1969, an air raid destroyed 800 cattle in the Ngok area—by that time mostly emptied of human beings, so only a few persons were injured. In January, 1970, a raid killed 500 more cattle in the Nasser district, with no human casualties; in February, at Akobo, 3000 animals were killed in a combined air and ground operation, and hundreds more driven away as loot.

With their major food source taken away, starvation came next—and a roving Newsweek photographer who had managed to get into the region was horrified by the crowds of starving children, with distended stomachs, whom he found in the aftermath.

### Planned Terrorism

Meanwhile, attacks on the towns continued. During November, 1970, Morta and Ido were bombed, attacked from armored cars and burned down, with 50 African corpses left behind. On August 20, 1970, Arab troops raided villages near Mogiri—murdering five people, but primarily concerned to make sure that the settlements were burned and their people forced into flight. For a continuous period of ten days in June the villages of the Torit district were raided from the air—and then burned. Even a leper colony (at Lokondo) was destroyed—and those too sick to escape into the forest were killed.

Many of the Africans who survived but did not manage to get away, were deported to forced labor centers, euphemistically called "peace villages."

As an example of planned terrorism, consider the case of a hamlet called Bamga, on the Congolese border, where on July 23, 1970, Khartoum troops found most of the people engaged in prayer, at the village church. As an Anglican priest reported the next events, 28 of these unfortunates were caught, roped together inside the church, and machine-gunned. Then the building was burned down, while the Arab soldiers jeered: "We shall kill you and your God will not come and save you."

In an earlier massacre at the town of Wau the victims were 76 persons attending a double wedding. The killing of this group meant the destruction of most of the educated (and Christian) leadership of the town.

Such incidents of deliberate horror can only be explained as part of a consciously planned campaign to destroy all vestiges of the native culture which had previously existed in the region.

It is Khartoum policy to build, at public expense, a mosque in every place of any size, and to decree that it shall be the only accepted place of religious worship. It is also the practice to "develop" areas from which the population has been forced to flee, by handing them over to favored Arabs moving in from the North.

### "The Unknown War"

Unfortunately, the Sudan is so far removed from communication centers that these genocidal events have gone almost unnoticed. We have intentionally included in the above paragraphs the names of places that are not apt to be found on maps in European or American atlases, because this helps to dramatize the isolation of the area. Journalists are forbidden to visit the South. To report the mass murder that goes on there, they must resort to dangerous and clandestine entries across remote borders with other African countries. Nevertheless, a few reporters have managed to penetrate the region—beginning with a team of two from the West German photo magazine Stern, which printed their findings in a series called "The Unknown War: Here, Arabs May Murder Negroes."

Last year David Robison, the Newsweek photographer quoted above, succeeded in making the dangerous trip. Within the last two or three months, a Norwegian Television team also visited the region. Among the "shocking" things with which the Norwegians returned, were pictures of the ruined church at Bamja.

In its drive to enforce absolute conformity, the Khartoum regime has extended its attack to include dissident religious and ethnic groups amongst the Moslems themselves. The Ansar followers of the Mahdi were the victims of such a campaign in March, 1969, when at least 1200 of these opponents of the Arab-leftist dictatorship were mercilessly destroyed, mostly in fighting at Aba. Again, Soviet MIG planes took part in the operation.

The open support which Moscow has given to the genocidal war against the South is apparent not only from the presence of MIG planes and Russian advisors at Juba, but also in official Soviet propaganda intended for foreign consumption. For example, on Nov. 16, 1970, just after the South Sudanese delegates had arrived at the United Nations, Radio Moscow (in a broadcast to the Arab world) castigated "the secessionists" as "a gang of criminals and thieves" and called them "tools in the hands of the imperialists." This is normal Soviet terminology for attacking any elements of democratic resistance, particularly in the critical Middle East region where the Kremlin is trying to establish a vast new sphere of influence.

### MILKING HER NEIGHBORS

**Egypt can provide teachers, engineers and administrators the others lack. Sudan has plenty of cultivable land for Egypt's growing population. Libya has the income from oil to provide capital for this Arab union.**

(U. S. News and World Report, 11-23-70)

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Meanwhile, the South Sudan has developed a kind of rudimentary self-government, under the leadership of the Southern Sudan Liberation Front. Its military arm, the Anya-Nya, has somehow rounded up enough weapons to make the roads and the back country untenable for the Sudanese troops, in spite of the Soviet-made bombers and Soviet advisors. As of the present, the cities and towns—nearly depopulated, following the flight of most of the indigenous Africans—are controlled by forces from Khartoum, while the countryside is in the hands of the local people. A simple tax system has been worked out by the South Sudanese and wherever possible rudimentary schools are maintained by the local authorities.

The South Sudan did not initially ask for separate sovereignty, but preferred to seek its political and civil rights within a clearly defined federation. In fact, the outlines of such a federation had been prepared before withdrawal of the British administration. The central regime at Khartoum, on the other hand, is primarily concerned with the twin purposes of Islamization and communization. Of late, the erection of a new United Arab Republic—joining Sudan with Egypt, Libya and Syria—has also occupied much of Khartoum's attention. This evokes the spectre of grave new danger for the Africans of the South. Unless a fairly prompt solution can be secured, Southern support for the idea of a federated Sudan may give way to outright separatism, provided the inhabitants of the region have not been murdered or starved out in the meanwhile.

### UN Must Act

In their petition to the United Nations, the delegates of the Southern Sudan Liberation Front ask that a fact-finding commission be created to investigate their charges, and to report back to the General Assembly. They also ask for immediate steps to prevent the supplying of arms and troops by outside nations, such as the Soviets, the Egyptians and the Libyans. They would like to see the creation of a UN peacekeeping force, to help put a stop to the bloodshed.

South Sudanese refugees in the neighboring African states already account for a major part of the burden of the UN's High Commissioner for Refugees, the distinguished Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan. The High Commissioner's office, although operating under grave budgetary stringencies, evidently considers that the problem of Sudanese refugees is not apt to be settled quickly, and has started a communal agricultural program for one group of 20,000 Sudanese, at M'Boki, in the Central African Republic.

The South Sudanese petition urgently asks that the International Red Cross be invited to supplement this assistance, particularly with medical and food aid to displaced people inside the Sudan, as well as those who have fled to neighboring countries.

Disquieting news of another kind meanwhile comes from the Eritrean province of Ethiopia, immediately adjoining the Sudan, where a violent guerrilla operation supported by several Arab states is trying to gain control of the strategic area fronting on the Red Sea. Again, the arms being used are

mostly Soviet. As in the South Sudan, black Africans—this time the Ethiopians—have suffered heavy casualties.

Taken in conjunction with the fighting in Southern Sudan, and the announcement of the impending federation of Egypt, Libya, Syria and Sudan, the Eritrean development compels one to wonder whether Arab leaders, with communist support, are still intent on realizing some of the late President Nasser's grandiose plans to take over all of Africa, "to the remotest depths of the jungle."

### Re-Colonization?

It is important to understand the South Sudan struggle in this context. When the British withdrew from both Egypt and the Sudan, most observers assumed that the area had been "decolonized." In actual fact, what followed was merely the substitution of a new colonial overlord; and the Arabized Moslems promptly set out to make themselves masters of the non-Moslem African majority, resorting to murder and plunder for accomplishing that purpose. As David McClintock writes in the current issue of *The Middle East Journal*, the conflict is not merely the product of an internal crisis, but "a confrontation between two major African peoples," so that "rather than being a direct product of Western decolonization, it is one result of a contest between two important peoples of the non-Western world."\*\*

In other words, the colonial problem does not always involve Europeans versus non-Europeans; it can also involve, in even more brutal form, Arabs against black Africans.

The President of the UN General Assembly, Dr. Edvard Hambro, in the closing days of the 1970 session, referred the South Sudan petition to the Commission on Human Rights which meets at Geneva in late February. At that time, the unhappy people of the region will have their first opportunity to be heard in an international forum. Unfortunately, the 1971 membership of the Commission on Human Rights includes a large bloc of Arab and communist states. The people of the world will be watching to see whether these meetings are dominated by humanity or by political expediency.

\* *Petition presented to Dr. Edvard Hambro, President of the General Assembly, by delegation of Southern Sudan Liberation Front, Dec 15, 1970.*

\*\* *David Wm. McClintock, "The Southern Sudan Problem," Middle East Journal, Autumn, 1970, published by Middle East Institute Washington, D.C.*

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### BLACKS OPPOSE ARAB UNION

Spokesmen for the South Sudan Liberation Front told NBC yesterday morning that they regard the proposed Lybian-Sudanese-Egyptian union as a move by the Sudanese Arab minority to strengthen and reinforce their attempts to frustrate the struggle of the Sudanese blacks for self-determination.

(Near East Report, 11-25-70)

AFRICA DIARY  
CPYRGHT

February 12-18, 1970

**Southern Sudan Leaders Willing To Enter Talks**

The Southern Sudanese now in exile in Uganda and other countries are willing to discuss regional autonomy for the Southern Sudan with the Sudan Government authorities, the acting president of the Sudan Azania provisional government-in-exile, Mr. M. Ateny Pajokdit, said in Kampala on Jan. 5. They would, however, only be prepared to enter such discussions under certain conditions. The conditions he laid down were that a round-table conference between the Sudan Government and Southern leaders in exile be held in a neutral country, under neutral chairmanship, with observers from neighbouring States and charitable organizations, the OAU

and the U.N. There must also be a ceasefire before the talks start.

"If these points are met, then the Southern Sudanese will be able to put their views on the Sudan Government's declared policy of regional autonomy for the south," Mr. Pajokdit added. He said the question did not only affect the Sudan, but the whole world, and international guarantees were needed. "I thank the Southern Sudanese students for their relentless efforts in trying to reconcile the politicians and above all for their impartiality. Let us congratulate them for their victory over the forces of tribal, regional, factional and reactionary interests among our politicians."

Mandag morgen **Aftenposten** 22. mars 1971

# Politisk kursendring i Khartoum Øket informasjon ledd i ny taktikk

Av Fredrik Schjander

Sudans revolusjonære militærregjering har i løpet av de siste ukene foretatt en tydelig politisk kursendring mot høyre. Blant de umiddelbare følger av dette er en mindre forsonlig holdning til kommunistene og en adskillig mer dempet nasjonaliseringspolitikk, men den nye kurs vil også få indirekte følger for borgerkrigen i Syd-Sudan. Samtidig har regjeringen for første gang lagt opp en utenrikspolitisk taktikk for håndteringen av problemene i syd.

Denne taktikk går i korthet ut på å internasjonalisere — eller lettere sagt afrikanisere — problemet i syd. Regjeringen har lenge hevdet å ha fellede bevis for at utenlandske krefter — først og fremst i Israel — yder aktiv støtte til opprørsbevegelsen i de tre sydlige provinser, men forøvrig har president Gaafar Nimeri med styrke hevdet at forholdene i syd er et indre sudanesiske anliggende. Derimot har geriljabevegelsen og dens politiske tilhøgere rettet henvendelser til afrikanske og internasjonale organisasjoner med appell om intervensjon i konflikten i Syd-Sudan.

Khartoum-regjeringens nye taktikk synes å ta sikte på en mollisering først og fremst av afrikansk støtte for politikken i syd. Det første synlige utslag av denne nye linje er behandlingen av den tyske leiesoldaten Rudolf Steiner, som nå sitter arrestert i Khartoum etter at han tidligere i år ble utlevert fra Uganda.

**Pressekonferanse**

Steiner er anklaget for å ha organisert opplæring av geriljasoldater i Syd-Sudan, og etter utleveringen arrangerte Nimeri-regjeringen en stort anlagt pressekonferanse, angivelig for å fremstille Steiner for utenlandske diplomater og pressefolk. Det var imidlertid heller lite man fikk se av Steiner på pressekonferansen. Derimot holdt den fremste av de innbudte gjester, generalsekretær Diallo Telli i Organisasjonen for afrikansk enhet (OAU), en flammende tale hvor han gjorde Steiners forseelser til et felles afrikansk anliggende.

Steiner ventet på å bli fremstilt for en domstol i Khartoum, og skal man dømme etter de toner som ble slått an på pressekonferansen, vil rettsaken få en bred ramme. Representanter for den sudanesiske regjering bekrefter også underhånden at aktoratet vil bestå av utsendinger fra alle de stater som mener å ha vært utsatt for overgrep av hvite

leiesoldater, først og fremst Congo, Guinea, Nigeria og selvsagt Sudan selv.

**Neppe dødsdom**

Hva som i siste instans vil skje med Steiner, er det ingen som kan si med sikkerhet. En dødsdom kan synes nærliggende i den atmosfære av hets som omgir te-maet leiesoldater i de nevnte afrikanske stater. Men samtidig er det verd å merke seg at ingen dødsdom er blitt avsagt ved domstoler i Sudan etter at president Nimeri kom til makten, og observatører tviler på at regjeringen vil fravike denne linje, selv når det gjelder Steiner.

Khartoum-regjeringens gryende utenrikspolitiske initiativ når det gjelder konflikten i syd kommer også til uttrykk ved at det ikke lenger skjer en bevisst fortieelse overfor utlandet av enkelthetene omkring borgerkrigen. Hittil har to avvikende syn gjort seg gjeldende på dette punkt i de indre kretser i Khartoum. Det

ene har vært særlig fremtredende i departementet for syd-sudanesiske saker delvis med støtte i utenriksdepartementet, og det har gått ut på størst mulig åpenhet omkring konflikten med geriljabevegelsen. Det motsatte syn har vært å finne i informasjonsdepartementet, men det har først og fremst preget sikkerhetspolitiet, med støtte i det mektige innenriksdepartementet.

**Diplomati**

Det er det første av disse to syn som nå synes å ha slått klart gjennom. Formodentlig som et resultat av dette har regjeringen nettopp sendt to drevne diplomater — begge syd-sudanesiske — til sine ambassader i henholdsvis Roma og London. Deres fremste oppgave vil bli å drive aktiv opplysningsvirksomhet omkring problemet Syd-Sudan.

Det er ambassaden i London som har ansvaret for deknningen av Skandinavia, og ti denne stasjonen er sendt den vel skolerte diplomaten Philip Ubang med status som ambassaderåd. Han akter å konsentrere seg sterkt om Skandinavia, og han har ifølge eget utsagn satt seg grundig inn i det materiale som har bidratt til å forme den skandinaviske opinionens oppfatning av Syd-Sudan.

**Nimeris posisjon**

Disse fremstøt fra Khartoum-regjeringens side overfor utlandet kan også oppfattes som en be-kreftelse på at den militære situasjon i Syd-Sudan har utviklet

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seg gunstig for regjeringen i det siste, og at president Nimeri for tiden har en sterk posisjon. Han sitter da også trolig fastere i salen enn noen annen sudanesiske statssjef siden landet ble uavhengig i 1956, og han ville heller aldri ha kunnet ta et så omfattende oppgjør med kommunistene hvis han ikke var helt sikker på å vinne.

Nimeri har regjert i bare 22 måneder, men disse 22 måneder har også vært en lang ventetid for de mange — både i nord og syd — som satte store håp til ham og hans løfter etter revolusjonen i mai 1969. Allikevel er Nimeri mer populær enn noensinne i Nord-Sudan, ikke minst på grunn av oppgjøret med kommunistene. Befolkningen i Syd-Sudan erkjenner også at mai-revolusjonen har ført til visse fremskritt, men hittil har resultatene vært for små, og for en befolkning som har følt seg bedratt av den ene regjering etter den andre, er det bare resultater som teller.

### Økonomisk hjelp?

Selv om enkelte skeptiske sudanese foretrekker å betrakte også Nimeris oppgjør med kommunistene og hans tilbaketog i nasjonaliseringspolitikken som tomme ord inntil det foreligger mer konkrete resultater, er det ikke tvil om at presidentens initiativ på disse punkter er tydelige styrketegn, og det er en alminnelig oppfatning i Khartoum at Nimeri i neste runde vil innkassere en pen gevinst i form av betydelig økonomisk støtte fra Saudi-Arabia og Kuwait. Nimeri besøkte nylig disse to rike araberstater og fikk tilsagn om støtte på betingelse av at han satte kommunistene på plass og sluttet med å skremme bort utenlandsk kapital.

### Kuppet i Uganda

Men selv om Nimeri i øyeblikket synes å seile i medvind både utenrikspolitisk og innenrikspolitisk, så har han også i den senere tid erfart tilbakeslag. Det alvorligste av disse var militærkuppet i Uganda i januar. Ikke

bare betydet general Idi Amin's makttovertagelse at Uganda distanserte seg politisk fra Sudan, men president Milton Obotes fall kom også på et tidspunkt da Nimeri hadde et vel begrunnet håp om å begrense de sudanesiske geriljastyrkernes frie spillerom inne på Ugandas territorium.

### Gerilja-fristed

Under president Obote inntok Uganda offisielt en nøytral holdning til borgerkrigen i Sudan, men det var ingen hemmelighet at geriljastyrkene hadde et fristed på Ugandas side av grensen. Observatører i Khartoum har den oppfatning at Obote kort før sitt fall ga sin godkjennelse til at regjeringsstyrker fra Sudan skulle få anledning til å krysse grensen og forfølge eventuelle geriljaavdelinger inn i Uganda. Dette bekräftes også indirekte av nestkommanderende for de militære styrker i Syd-Sudan, oberst Omer el-Ta'ayeb, som i en samtale om den militære strategi i området innrømmer at hans styrker

ved visse anledninger har trengt opptil 20 kilometer inn på Ugandas territorium.

Det er nettopp slike grenseoverskridelser general Amin har anklaget Sudan for, og selv om regjeringen i Khartoum bestemt hevder at anklagene er grunnløse, så er det altså sannsynlig at overskridelser faktisk har funnet sted med hjemmel i en stilltidsavtale som ikke lenger står ved makt.

### Apen konfrontasjon?

I private samtaler uttrykker representanter for Sudans regjering klar misnøye med maktskiftet i Uganda, en misnøye som skyldes frykt for at geriljastyrkene nå skal få enda friere hender på den andre siden av grensen. Offisielt inntar regjeringen en avventende holdning til det som skjer i Uganda. Men skulle det vise seg at Uganda i en eller annen form bekjenner seg til geriljabevegelsen i Syd-Sudan, utelukker selv ikke moderate politikere i Khartoum en åpen militær konfrontasjon med nabolandet.

AFTENPOSTEN, Oslo  
March 22, 1971

CPYRGHT

CHANGE OF POLITICAL COURSE IN KHARTOUM

CPYRGHT

The revolutionary military government of Sudan has the course of the past few weeks undertaken a plain change of course toward the right. Among the immediate consequences of this change is a less conciliatory attitude toward the Communists and a considerably softened nationalization policy. However, the new course will also indirectly affect the civil war in southern Sudan. At the same time, the government has for the first time laid down a foreign policy tactic for handling the problems in the South.

In brief, this tactic involves internationalizing -- or, rather, Africanizing -- the problem of the South. The government has for a long time maintained that it has conclusive evidence showing that foreign forces, Israel first and foremost, are actively supporting the revolt in the three southern provinces, while at the same time President Gaafari Nimeri has forcefully asserted that conditions in the South are an internal Sudanese concern. On the other hand, the guerrilla movement and its political offshoots have turned to African and international organizations with appeals for intervention in the conflict in southern Sudan.

The Khartoum government's new tactic seems primarily aimed at mobilizing African support for its southern policy. The first apparent result of the new policy is the treatment of the German mercenary Rudolf Steiner, now under arrest in Khartoum after having been surrendered by Uganda earlier this year.



Press Conference

Steiner is accused of having organized the training of guerrilla forces in southern Sudan. After he was surrendered, the Nimeri government arranged a large press conference, purportedly for the purpose of presenting Steiner to foreign diplomats and people of the press. Not too much was seen of Steiner at the press conference, however. The most prominent of the invited guests, Diallo Telli, general secretary of Organization of African Unity (OAU), made an impassioned speech, in which he made Steiner's crimes a common African concern.

Steiner is now waiting to be placed before a court of justice in Khartoum, and to judge by the tone at the press conference the case will be one of wide scope. Representatives of the Sudanese government privately confirm that the prosecution will consist of delegates from all those states that think they have been subjected to encroachments by white mercenaries, primarily the Congo, Guinea, Nigeria, and of course Sudan itself.

Death Penalty Unlikely

Nobody can say with certainty what will in the end happen to Steiner. In view of the atmosphere of agitation that surrounds the theme of foreign mercenaries in the mentioned African states the death penalty might seem likely, but at the same time it is worth noting that no death penalty has been imposed in Sudanese courts since President Nimeri came to power, and observers doubt that the government will abandon this policy, even in Steiner's case.

The Khartoum government's new foreign policy initiative with respect to the conflict in the South is also evidenced in the fact that the details on the civil war are no longer consciously hidden from the rest of the world. Up to now, two differing viewpoints have been prevalent on this point in the inner circles in Khartoum. One of these has been especially prevalent in the Department of South Sudanese Affairs, in part supported by the Foreign Affairs Department; it involves the greatest possible frankness concerning the confrontation with the guerrilla movement. The contrary view has been found in the Information Department, but it has first and foremost held sway in the security police, with support in the powerful Department of the Interior.

Diplomacy

The former of these two views seems now to have clearly broken through. Presumably as a result of this, the government has just sent two skilled diplomats, both South Sudanese, as ambassadors to Rome and London, respectively. Their foremost task will be that of disseminating information concerning the problem of southern Sudan.

The London embassy is responsible for covering Scandinavia, and to this station has been sent the well-trained diplomat Philip Ubang, with the title of embassy counsel. He intends to concentrate strongly on Scandinavia, and according to his own statement he has thoroughly familiarized himself with the material that has contributed to forming Scandinavian opinion on southern Sudan.

Nimeri's Position

These foreign policy initiatives by the Khartoum government can also be viewed confirmation of the military situation in southern Sudan having developed favorably for the government of late and of President Nimeri's position now being a strong one. He is probably more strongly entrenched than any other Sudanese chief of state since the country became independent in 1956, nor would he ever have been able to undertake so thorough a settlement of accounts with the Communists if he had not been sure of winning.

Nimeri has been in power for only 22 months, but this has been a long period of waiting for the many -- both in the North and in the South -- who placed such great hopes in him and his promises after the revolution of May 1969. Nevertheless, Nimeri is more popular than ever in northern Sudan, not least due to his settlement of accounts with the Communists. The people of southern Sudan also admit that the May revolution has led to a certain amount of progress, but up to the present results have been too small, and for a population that has felt itself deceived by one government after another, results alone count.

#### Economic Aid?

Even though some skeptical Sudanese prefer to regard Nimeri's settlement of accounts with the Communists and his retreat on the nationalization policy as empty gestures until more concrete results are shown, there is no doubt that the President's initiatives in these matters are plain signs of strength, and it is the general view in Khartoum that Nimeri will next cash in a nice profit in the form of considerable economic aid from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Nimeri recently visited these two wealthy Arab states, receiving promises of aid on condition that he put the Communists in their place and stopped frightening away foreign capital.

#### The Coup in Uganda

But even though for the moment Nimeri seems to enjoy smooth sailing as concerns both foreign and domestic policy, he has in recent times experienced setbacks. The most serious of these was the military coup in Uganda in January. Not only did General Idi Amin's assumption of power mean Uganda's political estrangement from Sudan, but the fall of President Milton Obote also came at a time when Nimeri entertained a well founded hope that the sanctuary of the Sudanese guerrillas on Ugandan territory could be limited.

#### Guerrilla Sanctuary

Under President Obote, Uganda officially took a neutral attitude to the civil war in Sudan, but it was no secret that the guerrilla forces had a sanctuary on the Uganda side of the border. Observers in Khartoum are of the opinion that shortly before his fall Obote gave his approval to government troops from Sudan crossing the border to pursue guerrilla forces into Uganda. This is also indirectly confirmed by Colonel Omar El-Tayeb, second in command of military forces in southern Sudan, who in a conversation concerning military strategy in the area admitted that his

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 forces had on certain occasions penetrated up to 20 kilometers into Ugandan territory.

It is just such border violations General Amin has accused Sudan of, and even though the Khartoum government categorically asserts that the accusations are baseless, it is likely that violations have in fact occurred on the basis of a tacit agreement no longer in force.

### Open Confrontation?

In private conversations, representatives of the government of Sudan express clear dissatisfaction with the government change in Uganda -- a dissatisfaction based on the fear that the guerrilla forces now will have even freer hands on the other side of the border. Officially, the government takes a waiting attitude toward what is happening in Uganda. But if it should prove that Uganda in one form or another approves of the guerrilla movement in southern Sudan, not even moderate politicians in Khartoum exclude the possibility of an open military confrontation with the neighbor country.

### **Berlingske Tidende**

SØNDAG 28. MARTS 1971

## **AFRIKA NU**

**SUDAN** Selvstændigt 1. januar 1956, Republik. Tidligere angloægyptisk kondominium. **Areal:** 2,5 mill. kvadratkilometer. **Befolkning:** 12-14 mill., heraf 40 pct. arabere (muhamedanere), 40 pct. negroide niloter (kristne og animister), resten blandingsfolk (muhamedanere og animister). På grund af krig og flugt menes niloternes antal dalet til 4 mill. **Hovedstad:** Khartoum, 100.000 indbyggere. Erhverv: Landbrug, især bomuld, der udgør 70 pct. af eksporten. **Bruttonationalprodukt** pr. indbygger om året: 100 US dollar (Danmark 2.070 dollar).

# Krigen i Afrikas vildeste hjørne

CPYRGHT

Af Mogens Kofod-Hansen

**H**VER dag ser man ved grænsen i dette Afrikas vildeste hjørne jefly jage mod syd på togter med napalm og raketter mod sorte frihedskæmpere, kvinder og børn. Et dødsdrama i Afrikas længste, ubarmhertigste krig. En årsag til, at

Afrika nu har over en million flygtninge.

Grænsen skiller Ethiopien og Sudan. Vi er nedenfor det abessinske højland. Folk og natur på begge sider den usynlige linje er ens. Det er et enormt, hedt, u-fremkommeligt busk- og jungleland, opskåret af Nilbassinets

floder, malariefyldt, vrimlende af vilde dyr i sjælden variation og mængde, befolket af kulsorte, næsten nøgne niloter. Her ser ud som i Livingstones Afrika.

Flyene er fra Sudans luftvåben. Mig'er, leveret af Sovjet, fløjet af ægyptiske og syriske piloter med hjælp af russiske og østtyske teknikere, som i hun-

dredvis er til rådighed for regeringer i Khar-toum. Dag efter dag, angriber de sydens græshyttelandsbyer, brænder dem af, dræber, lemlæster og jager sorte mennesker.

Cirka en million sydsudanere er faldet. Et par millioner er på flugt i den vældige ødemark, hvor sult, sygdomme og vilde dyr anfaldet dem, der landskøper flyene. Markerne er udyrkede, kvæghjordene decimerede. Et par hundrede tusinde mennesker er flygtet til nabolandene. Strømmen bliver ved — og krigen.

## Den glemte krig

Luftangrebene skal »pacificere«  
re. nilotstammerne i Sudans tre sydligste provinser, der gør oprør. Reelt er det åben krig mod fire millioner sorte. En glemte krig, overset af verden, så længe Afrikas enhedsorganisation OAU lukker øjnene for den. Få afrikanske ledere tør røre problemet, fordi det — ligesom Biafra var — er en pinlig påmindelse

om den spænding, kolonitidens vilkårlige grænser har skabt mange steder. Og grænserne vil man ikke røre.

Krigen er specielt udtryk for modsætningen mellem det arabiske og det sorte Afrika, der også forties i enhedens navn. Den er kun ét led i en lang, blodig kæde. Biafrakrigen var i sin rod udslag af det samme. Kampen i Tchad mellem arabiske rebeller og den afrikanske regering og det arabiske oprør i Eritrea mod Haile Selassies ethiopiske styre er det også, med modsat fortegn.

Dramaet i Sudan adskiller sig kun ved sin længde og ved, at den svage part, de sorte, praktisk taget ikke får hjælp. Konflikten begyndte for over 15 år siden med et mytteri i syden, da det blev klart, at niloterne — 40 procent af landets samlede befolkning — ikke ville få reel medindflydelse, når Sudan blev selvstændigt i 1956.

## Arabiske herrer

I den britiske tid fik de ikke lov at udvikle egne politiske institutioner. Under arbejde med det fri Sudans forfatning blev der ikke taget hensyn til deres ønske om en føderationsordning, som kunne sikre sydens kulturelle, religiøse og sproglige egenart. Ved fordelingen af høje administrative poster efter uafhængigheden besatte nord-sudanerne 794 af 800.

— Vi indså, at vi skulle koloniseres og undertrykkes fra nord. Selvstændigheden betød for os kun, at britiske herrer af-

løstes af arabiske. Vi er kristne og animister, men skulle påtvinges islam. Vi har vore egne sprog, men børnene måtte kun lære arabisk i skolen. Højere uddannelse var næsten lukket for os. Vi fik, hvad vi ventede af vore gamle slavejægere, araberne...

Det er en af modstandsbevægelsen Anyanyas unge ledere, der taler. Jeg møder ham i en flygtningelandsby nær grænsen, i hytten hos en begavet sort lærer og prædikant ved navn Moses. Begge tilhører nuerstammen, et stolt, frihedelskende folk, primitivt, men ukueligt.

## Anyanya er stærk

For mig er det et gensyn. Jeg mødte nuerne for 25 år siden ved et ældstemøde på Rub Kwacsletten i Nillandet syd for Malakal. De fortalte den gang om deres bedrifter på slagmarken. Nuerne havde deres sidste store krig med briterne i 1933. De tror stadig, de er verdens bedste soldater. Måske har de ret. De er i hvert fald formidabelt modige og udholdende krigere.

Nuerne er kæmper — anyanyamanden er med sine to meter typisk — og udgør ryggraden i Sydsudans frihedsbevægelse, hvor de kæmper sammen med andre stammer som dinka, shilluk, anuak, bari, belanda og azande. Siden 1963 har de dammet en stærk alliance, som de skiftende regeringer i Khar-toum ikke har kunnet få bugt med trods stor indsats.

Kampen var uundgåelig, da regeringen i 1960 lagde hemmelige planer om at fængsle alle vore ledere og flytte halvanden million arabere til syden, siger anyanya-kæmpen. Det ville have betydet vor undergang. Det tog os et par år at blive organiseret. Vi manglede våben og instruktører. Men siden vi begyndte at slås, har vi gjort helvede hedt for Khartoums styrker...

Anyanya er nu stærkere end nogensinde. Den kontrollerer næsten helt de tre sydlige provinser. Den overfalder og ud-sletter ofte overlegne militærkonvojer, som kun vover sig på vejene i vældige, armerede formationer. Den er begyndt at angribe byer, hvor hæren har garnison. For nylig stormede anyanyaerne en by, hvor de troede, der var 200 soldater. Der var 500. Alle blev dræbt eller flygtede.

Hvor får modstandsbevægelsen sine våben? Der går rygter om store forsyninger fra Israel og Etiopien. I Gambela tæt ved grænsen tales om mystiske kasser, der kommer pr. fly, og om natlige transporter vestpå. Kæmpen trækker på skulderen og tager et dybt sug af cigaretten:

-67-

— Det ødelægger vores sag, siger han. Det er arabisk propaganda. Det er så let at skrive Israel. Men sandheden er, at ingen lande hjælper os. Vi må nøjes med de våben, vi erobrer — eller køber af hærens soldater. De ved ikke, hvad de slås for. Vor styrke er, at vi ved, hvad det gælder — vores liv og frihed...

## Ingen hjælper os

Lejesoldater? For nogle måneder siden såredes tyskeren Rudolf Steiner, kendt fra Congo, på grænsen mellem Sudan og Uganda. Han udleveredes af Ugandas regering til Khartoum, hvor han nu er fængslet. Steiner bruges som bevis på, at hvilke landsknægte kæmper på oprørernes side.

— Jeg kender historien, siger anyanyamanden. Steiner kom til Sydsudan under foregivende af at være journalist. Han var der halvandet døgn. På vej over grænsen, blev han beskudt og såret. Den slags lejesoldater slås kun for store penge. Dem kan vi ikke betale. Ingen hjælper os...

Hvor fører krigen hen? Først krævede sydsudanerne en føderation. De var rede til at blive i Sudan. Nu er det udelukket, siger de. Vi har ingen fremtid sammen med araberne andet end som vandbærere og slaver. De har altid optrådt som imperialister mod os. Hvordan skulle der blive frihed og plads til os i den ny arabiske union af Sudan, Ægypten, Libyen og Syrien? Det er den, vi slås med.

## Lidelse i junglen

Der er ingen tegn på, at krigen vil høre op. General Numeirys socialistiske regering i Khartoum har lige så svært ved at knække den sydsudsanske nød som sine forgængere. Den er svag, har mange modstandere i Nordsudan og ville måske være faldet, hvis det ikke var for hjælpen fra Ægypten og især Sovjet, der med strategiske motiver er stærkt engageret her.

Kæmpen i hytten rejser sig. Han skal tilbage til sine guerillastykker. Hans afskedsord lyder:

— Vi kan klare os på jorden, men har intet forsvar mod flyene. De driver vore kvinder, børn og gamle ud i junglen til lidelse og død. OAU, FN og verden ser bare på. Man vil ikke støde anerkendte regeringer. Ingen anerkender os. Vi er fredløse. Vi kan ikke en gang få mad og medicin...

AFRICA NOW

The Sudan: Independent January 1, 1956, republic. Formerly an Anglo-Egyptian condominium. Area: 2.5 million square kilometers. Population: 12-14 million, of which 40% Mohammedan Arabs, 40% negroid Nilotes (Christians and animists), the remainder mixed peoples (Mohammedans and animists). It is believed the number of Nilotes has dropped to 4 million by reason of war and flight. Capital: Khartoum, 100,000 inhabitants. Sources of income: Agriculture, especially cotton, which makes up 70% of exports. Gross national product per inhabitant per year: \$100 U.S. (Denmark \$2,070).

THE WAR IN AFRICA'S WILDEST CORNER

The OAU, the UN, and the world merely watch us suffer and die, for we have no peace - says one of the South Sudan's freedom fighters.

The fight has raged for 15 years; one million have died and great masses are in flight.

Every day at the border in this wildest corner of Africa one sees jet planes on missions with napalm and rockets against black freedom fighters, women, and children. A deadly drama in Africa's longest, most merciless war. A reason why Africa has at present more than a million refugees.

The border divides Ethiopia from the Sudan. We are down below the Abyssinian highlands. People and nature to both sides of the invisible line are the same. It is an enormous, hot, impenetrable land of bush and jungle, sliced up by the rivers of the Nile basin, full of malaria, crawling with wild beasts in uncommon variety and quantities, peopled by coal-black nearly naked Nilotes. Here things look like Livingston's Africa.

The planes are from the Sudan's air force. MIG's, delivered by the Soviet Union, flown by Egyptian and Syrian pilots with the help of Russian and East German technicians, who are available by hundreds to the Khartoum regime. Day after day, they attack the country villages of grass huts in the south, burn them, kill, maim, and hunt black men.

About a million South Sudanese have fallen. A couple of million are in flight in the mighty waste, where hunger, disease, and wild beasts attack them. The fields are untilled, the herds of cattle decimated. A couple of hundred thousand people have fled to neighboring countries. The flow goes on - and so does the war.

The Forgotten War

The air attacks are supposed to "pacify" the Nilote tribes in the three southernmost provinces of the Sudan, which are in revolt. Really it is open war against four million blacks. A "forgotten" war, overlooked by the world, so long as the OAU (Organization of African Unity) closes its eyes to it. Few African leaders dare touch the problem, for this - like Biafra - is a painful reminder of the tension which the arbitrary boundaries of the colonial period have created in

many places. And they don't want to touch the boundaries.

The war is a special expression of the confrontation between Arab and black Africa, which is also passed over in silence in the name of unity. It is only a single link in a long, bloody chain. The Biafra war was in its roots an outcropping of the same thing. The fight in the Chad between Arab rebels and the African government and the Arab uprising in Eritrea against Haile Selassie's Ethiopian rule were the same sort of thing, in reverse.

The drama in the Sudan is distinguished only as regards its length and the fact that the weaker party, the blacks, get practically speaking no help. The conflict started more than 15 years ago with a mutiny in the south, when it became plain that the Nilotes - 40% of the aggregate population of the country - were to get no real share in influence when the Sudan became independent in 1956.

### Arab Overlords

During the British period they were not allowed to develop their own political institutions. When the constitution of the free Sudan was being worked out, their wish for a federative system, which could have assured their cultural, religious, and linguistic individuality, was not taken into account. In the distribution of the higher administrative positions after independence the North Sudanese got 794 out of 800.

"We came to realize that we were going to be colonized and oppressed from the north. Independence meant for us only that British overlords were replaced with Arab ones. We are Christians and animists, but Islam was to be forced upon us. We have our own language, but our children were to be able to study only Arabic in school. Higher education was almost closed to us. We got what we expected from our old slave-hunters, the Arabs...."

It is one of the young leaders of the resistance movement, Anyanya, who is speaking. I met him in a refugee village near the frontier, in the hut of a gifted black teacher and preacher called Moses. Both belong to the Nuer tribe, a proud, freedom-loving people, primitive but indomitable.

### The Anyanya is Strong

It is a revelation for me. I met the Nuers 25 years ago at a meeting of elders at Rub Kwac castle in the Nile land south of Malaka. At that time they spoke of their feats on the battlefield. The Nuers had their last big war with the British in 1933. They still believe they are the world's best soldiers. Perhaps they are right. In any event, they are formidably valiant and tenacious warriors.

The Nuers are giants - the Anyanya man with his six feet seven is typical - and constitute the backbone of the freedom movement of the South Sudan, where they fight side by side with other tribes like the Dinka, Shilluk, Anuak, Bari, Belanda, and Azande. Since 1963 they have put together a strong alliance which the shifting governments in Khartoum have not been able to deal with despite high input.

"The battle became unavoidable when in 1960 the government made secret plans to imprison all our leaders and move a million and a half Arabs to the south," says the Anyanya giant. "That would have meant our ruin. It took us a couple of years to get organized. We were short of weapons and instructors. But once we began to fight we made hell hot for the Khartoum forces...."

The Anyanya is stronger now than ever. It controls the three southern provinces almost entirely. It assaults and wips out military convoys which are often superior and which only venture upon the roads in powerful armed formations. It has commenced to attack towns where the army has garrisons. Recently the Anyanya stormed a town where they thought there were 200 soldiers. There were 500. All were killed or fled.

How does the resistance movement get its weapons? There are rumors of large supplies from Israel and Ethiopia. In Gambela, right up against the border, there is talk of mysterious cases that come by plane and of nightly shipments toward the west. The giant shrugs his shoulders and draws deeply on his cigarette:

"That hurts our cause," he says. "That is Arab propaganda. But the truth is that no country is helping us. We have to be satisfied with the weapons we capture - or buy from the army's soldiers. They don't know what they are fighting for. Our strength is that we know what is at stake - our lives and freedom...."

#### No One is Helping Us

Mercenaries? Some months ago a German, Rudolf Steiner, known from the Congo, was wounded at the boundary between the Sudan and Uganda. He was handed over by the Uganda government to Khartoum, where he is now in prison. Steiner is used as a "proof" that white mercenaries are fighting on the side of the uprising.

"I know the story," says the Anyanya man. "Steiner came to the South Sudan representing himself as a journalist. He was there a day and a half. On his way across the frontier he was shot at and wounded. That sort of mercenary only fights for big money. We can't pay them. Nobody is helping us...."

Where is the war leading to? First the South Sudanese demanded a federation. They were prepared to remain within the Sudan. Now that is out of the question, they say. "We have no future together with the Arabs, save a bearers of water and as slaves. They have always acted toward us as imperialists. How would there be freedom and space for us in the new Arab union of the Sudan, Egypt, Libya, and Syria? That is what we are fighting against."

#### Suffering in the Jungle

There is no sign of the war's stopping. General Numeiry's socialist regime in Khartoum is finding it just as hard to overcome the South Sudanese as its predecessors did. It is weak, has many opponents in the North Sudan, and would perhaps have fallen if it were not for the help from Egypt and particularly the Soviet Union, which is heavily engaged here for strategic reasons.

The giant stands up in the hut. He must go back to his guerrilla forces. His parting words are as follows:

"We can hold our own on the ground, but we have no defense against planes. They drive our women, children, and old people out into the jungle to suffer and die. The OAU, the UN, and the world merely look on. They don't want to offend recongized regimes. No one recognizes us. We have no peace. We can't even get food and medicine...."

CPYRGHT

## Rekolonisierung des südlichen Sudans?

### Geringe Folgen der Autonomie-Resolution Numeiris

#### Beobachtungen auf einer Fahrt unter der Aegide Khartums

O. I. Zwei Wochen nach dem Staatsstreich vom 25. Mai 1969 erließ der neu gebildete sudanesischer «Revolutionsrat» unter Führung von Generalmajor Ghafaar Mohammed Numeiri die «Resolution der regionalen Autonomie für den Südsudan». Numeiri, der selbst als Offizier im Buschkrieg gekämpft hatte, setzte damit die friedliche Lösung des schwierigsten Problems seines Landes an die Spitze seines Regierungsprogramms. Er schien als erster Regierungschef in Khartum bereit zu sein, dem Süden eine gewisse regionale Selbstverwaltung zuzugestehen. Joseph Garang, ein Dinka-Stammesangehöriger aus Wau, wurde als «Minister für Angelegenheiten des Südens» mit der Koordination aller Regierungsgeschäfte im Süden betraut. Wie ein Großteil der Sudanesen unterstützt er Numeiri, dessen sozialistische Ideen er nach Ansicht vieler seiner engeren Landsleute jedoch weit links überbietet. Deshalb genießt er lange nicht das Vertrauen aller Schwarzen. Nach Ansicht zahlreicher ausländischer Beobachter ist Garang ein doktrinärer Kommunist; zudem sind alle seine Mitarbeiter fast ausschließlich Leute aus dem Norden. Durch seinen Einfluß beim Innenministerium ist es möglich, eine Sonderbewilligung für den Ausländern im allgemeinen verschlossenen Südsudan zu erhalten.

#### Auf dem Weißen Nil

➤ Ausgangspunkt für eine zehntägige Schiffsreise den Weißen Nil stromaufwärts ist Kosti, ein wichtiger Verkehrsknotenpunkt. Die Nilschiffe sind Ungelümme aus der britischen Kolonialzeit; fünf bis sieben einzelne Boote werden miteinander verbunden, von denen mindestens eines mit Nachschub für die Armee beladen ist. Ein besonderes Vergnügen bereitet das Exerzieren der Soldaten, die zur Sicherung des Transportes mitfahren: Zapplig heben sie ein Bein nach dem andern; der eine trägt ausgetretene Turnschuhe, der andere nagelneue ägyptische Fallschirmjägerstiefel.

Stets ist jedoch das Mißtrauen zu spüren, das dem weißen Passagier entgegengebracht wird. Nach Ansicht des Kommandanten schlenderte ich zu langsam an den russischen Hauptjäten vorbei; er rät mir nachdrücklich davon ab; denn das Maß sei voll, nachdem ich bereits am Tag vorher im ehemaligen Palast des Mahdi auf der verbotenen Nilinsel Aba, den die Truppen Numeiris im März des vergangenen Jahres erobert hatten, festgenommen worden war. Während der Fahrt gelingt es kaum, den Photoapparat auf das Ufer zu richten; denn die arabischen Soldaten mit ihren russischen AK-17-Gewehren sind ängstlich darauf bedacht, daß keine nackten Menschen auf den Film gebannt werden — da dies dem Ruf des Sudans in meinem Heimatlande schaden könnte. In Melut passiert der Dampfer ein Entwicklungsprojekt der Regierung. Hier hätte eine große Pflanzung von Durra-Getreide (Sorghum) errichtet werden sollen; das Projekt war jedoch offenbar zum Vorrheinein zum Scheitern verurteilt, da die Bevölkerung viel größeres Interesse am einträglicheren Anbau von Zuckerrohr zu haben scheint.

#### Zwischenhalt in Malakal

Nach drei Tagen legt das Schiff in Malakal an. Hunderte von Schilluk, Dinka und Nuer, alle mit den Stammeszeichen versehen, belagern das Boot, um nach Verwandten Ausschau zu halten. Die Hauptstadt der Provinz Upper Nile macht einen durchaus friedlichen Eindruck; nichts erinnert an Krieg. Im Laufe einer Woche verändert sich dieses Bild jedoch; der Krieg wird auf der sozialen Ebene geführt. Vor einem Gebäude demonstriert eine Gruppe Schilluk, jeder mit rotem Tuch bekleidet und einer Feder im Haar. Ein Araber, den ich frage, will mir den Sinn der Zusammenrottung nicht erklären; ein Schilluk selbst gibt mir schließlich zu verstehen, daß seine Stammesbrüder mit den Getreiderationen nicht zufrieden sind. Zudem scheint ein Absolvent der hiesigen Mittelschule keine geeignete Stellung gefunden zu haben. Er weist auf eine verwitterte Tafel am Arbeitsministerium hin, welche die Aufschrift trägt: «No jobs vacant», und klagt: «Dies, obwohl uns Numeiri Beschäftigung versprochen hat.» Jetzt trägt sich der junge Mann, wie er gesteht, ernstlich mit dem Gedanken, zur Anya Anya überzulaufen...

Ein führender Intellektueller Malakals, mit dem wir uns unterhalten, beurteilt die Zukunft nicht mehr so zuversichtlich wie unmittelbar nach der Machtübernahme Numeiris. Nach seiner Meinung genügt es nicht, den Sonntag und nicht den Freitag als offiziellen Feiertag zu deklarieren, um die Nicht-Muslime die Leiden, die sie ausstehen hatten, vergessen zu machen. Denn die Wunden sind tief. Verbittert nennt er Beispiele: In Warwajok, einige Kilometer von Malakal entfernt, drang 1965 eines Morgens die Armee ein. Sie habe über 1000 Einwohner erschossen, um zu verhindern, daß noch mehr Dorfbewohner zu den Rebellen überliefen. Am Zusammenfluß des Sobats und des Weißen Nils liegt Doleib Hill, früher bedeutende amerikanische Missionsstation; heute stehen noch zwei Steinhäuser. Vierundzwanzig Lehrer dieses Dorfes wurden zuerst nach Kodok, dem historischen Faschoda, deportiert und dann dort erhängt. 1964 und 1965 waren die schlimmsten Jahre: Tote, deren Bäuche aufgeschlitzt waren, trieben auf dem Nil. Der Erzähler bemerkt, daß dies auch noch zu Zeiten Numeiris vorkomme; denn am 15. August dieses Jahres sei eine Leiche gelandet worden, deren Eingeweide herausgeschnitten waren.

Wie viele Opfer der unselige Krieg bisher gefordert hat, will oder kann niemand genau sagen. Mein schwarzer Gesprächspartner, der sehr gut über die Verhältnisse informiert ist, schätzt als oberste Grenze die erschreckend hohe Zahl von anderthalb Millionen Toten und etwa gleich vielen Flüchtlingen. Nach Meinung dieses Schwarzen wird der Süden zum zweitenmal kolonialisiert. Daran ändern nach seiner Ansicht auch alle Versprechungen Numeiris nichts, denn alle einflußreichen Posten werden nach wie vor nur mit Arabern besetzt. Nur ein zweiter stellvertretender Kommissar der Provinz Upper Nile ist ein Schilluk; doch wird er vollständig von seiner arabischen Umgebung kontrolliert.



### Stete Ueberwachung

Unter dem Regime Numeiri läßt man keine Ausländer unbeaufsichtigt herumspazieren. Das erfahre ich mit aller wünschbaren Deutlichkeit, während ich auf einem Schilluk-Markt, die Kamera unter dem Arm in die Hüfte geklemmt, eine Aufnahme mache. Ein Araber, in unauffälliger Galabya, entpuppt sich als mein Bewacher. Auf dem Posten wird dann der Film «mit nackten Negern» freundlich aus der Kamera genommen.

Während der endlos scheinenden Fahrt auf der 600 Kilometer langen, 1903 von den Engländern geschaffenen Schiffsfahrtsrinne durch den *Sudd*, einen Papyrusumpf von der Größe Englands, nützen viele Schwarze die Gelegenheit, mit einem Weißen zu diskutieren. Ein fünfzehnjähriger Knabe erzählt mit Tränen in den Augen, wie seine zwei Brüder, neun- und elfjährig, beim Viehhüten von einer Armeepatrouille niedergestreckt wurden, bloß weil sie davonliefen. Ein in Genf am Institut für internationale Beziehungen ausgebildeter Bor-Dinka erklärt mir, warum er in Bor nicht zu seinen Verwandten geht, sondern nach Juba weiterfährt. Seit acht Jahren ist er das **erstmal** wieder im Süden, vor zwei Jahren noch wäre er als Intellektueller hier erschossen worden. Er arbeite jetzt zwar für die Regierung, doch wolle er noch ein Jahr abwarten, bis er sich wieder nach Hause wage.

Am achten Tag nach der Abfahrt von Malakal kommt das Boot immer langsamer voran; wegen der *Wasserhyazinthen* (Eichhornia), behauptet der Kapitän. Ein Schwarzer ist da anderer Meinung: Die Araber erhalten für jeden Tag, den sie im Süden verbringen, eine *Sonderprämie* — zwanzig Pfund im Monat — und haben darum guten Grund, die Fahrt zu verzögern. Dieser Zuschlag wurde von der Regierung trotz offizieller «Gleichstellung» nicht aufgehoben. Der Dampfer sitzt daher für sechs Stunden in *Lado* fest, einer ehemaligen Enklave des Belgischen Kongo. Vorsichtshalber sehen sich die Soldaten nach Anya-Any-Rebellen um. Die Bewohner ziehen es vor, sich dabei nicht zu zeigen. Später versammeln sich einige Frauen und Kinder, um aus Distanz den seltenen Anblick eines «Chawagi» (Bleichgesicht) zu genießen.

Gegen Abend passieren wir *Terakeka*. Alle Decks werden von Passagieren geräumt; die Soldaten beziehen ihre Stellungen. Eine Woche zuvor wurde an dieser Stelle dasselbe Schiff, die «Al-Mirrickh», von Rebellen angegriffen. Der materielle Erfolg jener Attacke war gleich Null; aber ihr Ziel, Nervosität zu verbreiten, wurde erreicht: ein russischer MI-Helikopter begleitet uns heute über diesem Urwaldstück.

### Juba

In der Hauptstadt der Provinz Equatoria, *Juba*, Schauplatz der Meuterei der südsudanesischen Truppen von 1955 und der Ausschreitungen der Armee von 1965, besuche ich den für die Sicherheit zuständigen Offizier *Mahmud el-Sayed*. Ich komme auf das Amnestiegesetz Numeiris zu sprechen. Man läßt einen jungen Bari hereinführen, der bestätigt, daß er von der Regierung gut behandelt wird; doch warte er noch auf eine Beschäftigung. Nach fünf Jahren Leben im Busch hatte er genug; er will endlich wieder einmal richtig essen und saubere Kleider tragen. *Mahmud el-Sayed* läßt mich zu den Polizeikasernen hinausfahren, um mir die beschlagnahmten israelischen Gewehre zeigen zu lassen, die mir beweisen sollen, daß Tel Aviv beim Anya-Any-Aufstand die Finger im Spiel habe. Offensichtlich ist *Mahmud* über den Bestand des Arsenal nicht zuverlässig orientiert; die

erste Waffe, die mir der Soldat nämlich stolz zeigt, ist eine Maschinenpistole — chinesischen Ursprungs! Offenbar gehört sie zu den Beständen, die nach dem Zusammenbruch der Kongorebellion im Jahre 1964 von Mobutu den schwarzen Brüdern im Südsudan überlassen wurden, weil Khartum so eifrig geholfen hatte, den Kongorebellen Ostblockwaffen zuzuschmuggeln. Unter den erbeuteten Waffen im Arsenal der Polizei von Juba befindet sich keine einzige israelischen Fabrikats.

Durch das Vorgehen Numeiris wurden die Anya Anya immer mehr gegen die Grenze von Uganda zurückgetrieben. Der Nimule-Nationalpark — Fachleute schätzen seinen Wildreichtum höher ein als den Serengetis — mußte von den Wildhütern geräumt werden. Wie der Chef des Wildschutzes für den ganzen Süden, *Yahia Babiker*, dazu ausführte, gibt es wenigstens eine «gute Seite» des Konflikts: «In Uganda leben etwa noch dreißig weiße Nashörner. Da bei uns keine Jäger hinter dem Wild her sind, besitzen wir heute eine Kolonie von etwa fünfhundert weißen Nashörnern.»

Die sudanesishe Armee wird heute ausschließlich mit russischem und chinesischem Material ausgerüstet. Seit die ägyptische Luftwaffenschule in Jebel Aulia, südlich von Khartum, stationiert ist, fliegen auch *sowjetische und ägyptische Piloten* sudanesishe Helikopter und Düsenflugzeuge. Im Gästebuch des «Juba-Hotels» gaben sich Russen als Angehörige der Sudan Airforce aus. Angesichts der Unbeliebtheit der Ägypter bei den Sudanesen dürfte es Numeiri jedoch kaum wagen, ägyptische Bodentruppen einzusetzen.

### Wau

In der Hauptstadt der Provinz Bahr al-Ghasal, *Wau*, treffe ich einen jungen Major, der mich in perfektem Deutsch anspricht. Er hat in Leipzig studiert. Er ist ein typisches Beispiel dafür, wie viele junge und qualifizierte Leute nach dem Putsch Numeiris in die Armee eintraten. Es ist dies gegenwärtig die beste, wenn nicht gar die einzige Chance für sie, Karriere zu machen. Diese Konstellation entzieht dem Lande viele Kräfte, die für die Entwicklung benötigt würden.

Durch die Fürsprache des Majors wird es mir endlich ermöglicht, mit einem Konvoi die Stadt zu verlassen. Unser Ziel ist *Bisselia*. Mehrere Lastwagen und fünfzig Soldaten werden als Schutz für nötig befunden. Zu beiden Seiten der Straße nimmt bis zu drei Meter hohes Gras, aus dem Baumkronen ragen, die freie Sicht. Der vorderste Commer-Lastwagen verlangsamt plötzlich die Fahrt, die Soldaten richten ihre automatischen Waffen auf die *unbekannte* Last vom Stamme der Jur, die sich sofort ruhig am Straßenrand aufstellen. Die Soldaten untersuchen sie nach Waffen. Sie finden nichts und kaufen den Leuten einige Guavafrüchte für einen Spottpreis ab. Nach etwa eineinhalbstündiger Fahrt taucht *Bisselia*, das heißt tauchen die Ruinen davon auf. Im Jahre 1965 wurde hier alles zerstört, die Anya Anya stürmten das Gerichtsgebäude und das Gefängnis; der Polizeiposten wurde wie viele andere gebrandschatzt. Ende Juli 1970 griffen die Rebellen den wieder neu errichteten Außenposten Kaya im Distrikt Torit, östlich von Juba, an. Daraufhin zerstörte die Armee die Siedlung, da es für sie — wie in jedem Guerillakrieg — kaum möglich ist, zwischen Rebellen und friedlichen Bewohnern zu unterscheiden. Die Station von *Bisselia* wurde wieder eröffnet, und bereits sammeln sich Hütten um das einzige intakte Stängengebäude. Dank zufließender *russischer Entwicklungshilfe* finden die Bewohner Arbeit in der streng bewachten Mahagoni-Sägemühle.

Kriegsverschrienes Land

Nach einer weiteren Stunde Fahrt auf einem roten, holperigen Weg erreicht der Konvoi auf einer Kuppe Mboro. Früher war Mboro eine der größten Missionsstationen der Verona-Brüder im Sudan, bevor sie 1964 ausgewiesen wurden. Seither dient die große Kirche keinem Zweck mehr und ist vernachlässigt. Vier schwarze Soldaten, die erst kürzlich gemäß Dekret Numeiris in die Armee aufgenommen wurden, führen mich zu der im hohen Gras versteckten Missionsschule. Mit scheuem Blick weisen sie auf die Schulräume. Unzählige Einschläge von Projektilen sind über die Mauern zerstreut; an den Wänden kleben Spuren von eingetrockneten Blutrinsalen. Im Lehrerzimmer herrscht Unordnung, Bücher liegen umher; auch hier Spuren von Blut und Schüssen. Die Kinder haben auf die einst weißen Wände Maschinengewehre und von Pfeilen durchbohrte Raubtiere gezeichnet — die Dinge, um die sich ihr junges Leben dreht. Einer der schwarzen Soldaten sagt, daß hier Dutzende von Kindern von der Armee umgebracht worden seien. Ich frage ihn, wie er sich bei der Wiederholung derartiger Vorfälle seinen Landsleuten gegenüber verhalten würde. «Für mich gäbe es keinen

Zweifel, daß ich meine Waffe auf meine arabischen Kameraden richten würde, um dies zu verhindern. Gerade deshalb trat ich der Armee bei, um von innen her zu sorgen, daß keine derartigen „Zwischenfälle“ mehr vorkommen!»

Zurück in Khartum, frage ich im Ministry for Southern Affairs, warum die aus Juba und Rumbek nach Khartum und Omdurman verlegten *Mittelschulen* nicht wieder an ihre ursprünglichen Stätten zurückverlegt würden. Denn momentan gibt es für die über drei Millionen Schwarzen nur eine Mittelschule im Süden, in Malakal — welche erst noch zu einem großen Teil Kinder ansässiger Araber aufzunehmen hat. Nach Aussagen von Minister Garang steht die Umsiedlung der Mittelschulen nach dem Norden durchaus nicht im Widerspruch zu Numeiris Programm, die Bildungslücke zwischen Süden und Norden zu schließen. Als Argument führt er an, daß sich die aus dem Süden kommenden Schüler bei einer Meinungsumfrage ganz sicher für die gegenwärtigen Schulorte entscheiden würden; denn in Khartum sei das Klima angenehmer als in der tropischen Heimat...

NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, Zurich  
February 28, 1971

RECOLONIZATION OF SOUTHERN SUDAN

Two weeks after the coup d'etat of May 25, 1969, the newly formed Sudanese "revolutionary council", under the leadership of Major-General Jafar Muhammad Numayri, issued a "Resolution for Regional Autonomy of Southern Sudan." Numayri, who had himself fought as an officer in the bush war, thus gave priority in his government program to the solution of the most difficult problem of his country. He seemed to be the first government chief in Khartoum who was ready to grant the south a certain regional self-government. Joseph Garang, a Dinka tribe member from Wau, was made responsible for the coordination of all government business in the south, as the Minister of State for Southern Affairs. Like a large number of the Sudanese, he supports Numayri; and Garang's socialist ideas, according to the viewpoint of many of his closer countrymen, are much further left than Numayri's. He thus does not by any means have the confidence of all blacks. In the opinion of numerous foreign observers, Garang is a doctrinaire communist; in addition, all of his co-workers are almost exclusively people from the north. Through his influence in the Ministry of Interior it is possible to obtain a special permit to go to southern Sudan, generally closed to foreigners.

On the White Nile

Kosti, an important traffic junction, is the point of departure for a 10-day ship voyage up the White Nile. The Nile ships are monstrosities from the British colonial period; five to seven individual boats are joined to one another, of which at least one is laden with supplies for the army. The soldiers' exercising is a particular amusement; they travel along to protect the transport: restlessly they lift one leg after the other; one wears worn out gym shoes, the other brand new Egyptian paratroopers' boots.

Nonetheless, one always feels the mistrust toward the white passenger. In the opinion of the commandant, I walked too slowly past the Russian howitzers;

for his patience is exhausted after I had already been arrested the day before in the former Palace of the Mahdi on the forbidden Nile island of Aba, which Numayri's troops had captured in March of last year. It is hardly possible to point a camera at the shore during the trip, for the Arab soldiers, with their Russian AK-17 guns, are anxious that no naked people be captured on film -- because this could harm the reputation of the Sudan in my country. In Melut, the steamer passes a government development project. Here, extensive cultivation of sorghum was to be established; the project was apparently condemned to failure from the start, however, since the population seems to have much greater interest in the more profitable cultivation of sugar cane.

### Stopover in Malakal

After three days, the ship docks in Malakal. Hundreds of Shilluk, Dinka and Nuer, all with their tribal marks, besiege the boat, to look for relatives. The capital of Upper Nile province makes a completely peaceful impression; nothing reminds you of war. But in the course of a week this picture changes; the war is conducted on the social level. In front of a building, a group of Shilluk demonstrate; each is dressed in a red scarf and a feather in the hair. An Arab whom I question does not want to explain the point of the gathering to me; a Shilluk himself finally tells me that his tribesmen are not satisfied with the grain rations. In addition, a graduate of the intermediate school here seems not to have found an appropriate job. He points to a weathered sign on the Labor Ministry which bears the inscription: "No jobs vacant," and complains: "This, although Numayri promised us employment." Now the young man is thinking seriously, as he admits, of joining the Anya-Nya...

A leading Malakal intellectual with whom we spoke no longer views the future as confidently as immediately after Numayri's power takeover. In his opinion, it is not enough to declare Sunday and not Friday the official free day to make the non-Moslems forget the suffering which they had to bear. For the wounds are deep. He names examples bitterly: one morning in 1965, the army invaded Kodok, a few kilometers from Malakal. They shot more than 1000 inhabitants to prevent still more village residents from going over to the rebels. At the confluence of the Sobat and the White Nile is Doleib Hill, formerly an important American mission station; today two stone houses still stand. Twenty-four teachers from the village were first deported to Kodok, the historic Fashoda, and then were hanged there. The worst years were 1964 and 1965: dead men with their stomachs slashed floated on the Nile. The narrator remarks that this still happened in Numayri's time, for on August 15 of this year, a disemboweled corpse had landed.

No one can or wants to say exactly how many victims there have been so far of this wretched war. The black man with whom I spoke, who is very well informed on the situation, estimates the maximum at the horrifyingly high number of one and one half million dead and about the same number of refugees. In the opinion of this black, the Sudan is being colonized for the second time. In his opinion, all of Numayri's promises change none of this, because all influential posts are only occupied by Arabs, now as before. Only one second deputy Commissar of Upper Nile province is a Shilluk; and he is completely controlled by his Arab surroundings.

### Constant Surveillance

Under Numayri's regime, no foreigners may walk around unsupervised. I learn this with all-desirable clarity when at a Shilluk market, my camera under my arm against my hip, I take a picture. An Arab in inconspicuous galabaya reveals himself as my guard. At the post, the film "with naked Negroes" is cheerfully removed from the camera.

During the seemingly endless voyage on the 800-kilometer shipping channel created in 1903 by the English through the Sudd, a papyrus swamp the size of England, many blacks use the opportunity to speak with a white. A fifteen-year-old boy tells with tears in his eyes of how his two brothers, ages nine and eleven, were killed by an army patrol while herding, simply because they ran away. A Bor Dinka educated at the Geneva Institute of International Relations tells me why he is not going to his relatives in Bor, but is going on to Juba. He is back in the Sudan for the first time in 8 years; just 2 years ago he would have been shot as an intellectual here. He is now working for the government, but wants to wait another year before he dares to go back home again.

On the eighth day after departure from Malakal, the boat is making increasingly slow progress; because of the water hyacinths, the captain maintains. A black here is of another opinion: the Arabs receive a special premium for every day which they spend in the south -- twenty pounds a month -- and thus have a good reason to delay the trip. This bonus was not removed by the government, despite official "equality." Hence the steamer is held up for 6 hours in Lado, a former enclave of the Belgian Congo. As a precaution, the soldiers look around for Anya-Nya rebels. The residents prefer not to appear. Later a few women and children gather, to enjoy the sight of a "chawagi" (pale face) from a distance.

Toward evening we pass Terakeka. All decks are cleared of passengers; the soldiers take their positions. A week earlier the same ship, the "al-Mirriekh," was attacked by rebels at this place. The material success of this attack was as good as nil; but its goal, to spread nervousness, was achieved: a Russian M-1 helicopter accompanies us today over this section of virgin forest.

#### Juba

In the capital of the province of Equatoria, Juba, site of the mutiny of the south Sudanese troops in 1955 and the army riots of 1965, I visit Mahmud al-Sayad, the officer responsible for security. I come to speak of Numayri's amnesty law. A young Bari is led in who affirms that he is well-treated by the government; but he is still waiting for a job. After 5 years of living in the bush he had had enough; he wants at last to eat properly again and wear clean clothes. Mahmud al-Sayad has me driven out to the police barracks to show me the seized Israeli guns, which are to prove to me that Tel Aviv has a finger in the pie in the Anya-Nya rebellion. Apparently Mahmud has not been reliably informed on the supplies at the arsenal: namely, the first weapon which the soldier proudly shows me is a machine-gun -- of Chinese manufacture! It apparently belongs to the supplies which were given to the black brothers in the Sudan by Mobutu in 1964 after the collapse of the Congolese rebellion, because Khartoum had so enthusiastically helped to procure Eastern bloc weapons for the Congolese rebels. Among the captured weapons in the Juba police arsenal there is not a single one of Israeli manufacture.

Through Numayri's action, the Anya-Nya have been pushed farther and farther towards the Ugandan border. The Nimule National Park -- experts estimate its wildlife wealth to be greater than that of the Serengetis -- had to be cleared out by the game wardens. As the chief of wildlife protection for all of the Sudan explained, there is at least one "good side" to the conflict: "In Uganda there are still about thirty white rhinos. Since there are not hunters here after the wildlife, we have today a colony of about 500 white rhinoceros."

The Sudanese army is today equipped exclusively with Russian and Chinese

matériel. Since the Egyptian air force school has been stationed in Jebel Aulya, south of Khartoum, Soviet and Egyptian pilots also fly Sudanese helicopters and jet planes. In the guest book of the Juba hotel, Russians have signed as members of the Sudanese Air Force. In view of the fact that the Sudanese dislike the Egyptians, Numayri would hardly dare to put in Egyptian ground troops.

Wau

In the capital of the province of Bahr al-Ghazal, Wau, I met a young major who spoke to me in perfect German. He studied in Leipzig. He is a typical example of the many young and qualified people who joined the army after Numayri's coup. It is presently the best, if not the only, chance for them to establish a career. This situation takes many forces from the country which would be needed for development.

Through the intercession of this Major I am at last enabled to leave the city with a convoy. Our destination is Bisselia. Numerous trucks and 50 soldiers are found necessary for protection. On both sides of the road free vision is blocked by 3-meter high grass, from which treetops project. The foremost truck suddenly slows down, the soldiers point their automatic weapons at the people here, of the Jur tribe, who quickly and quietly place themselves by the side of the road. The soldiers search them for weapons. They find nothing and buy a few guava fruits from the people for a ridiculously low price. After about 1 1/2 hours, Bisselia, that is, its ruins, appears. In 1965, everything here was destroyed, the Anya-Nya stormed the court and the prison; the police stations, like many others, were plundered. At the end of July 1970, the rebels attacked the newly rebuilt outpost of Kaya, in Torit district, east of Juba. Then the army destroyed the settlement, since it is hardly possible for them -- as in every guerrilla war -- to distinguish between rebels and peaceful residents. The station of Bisselia was reopened and huts are already gathering around the only intact stone building. Thanks to Russian development aid, the residents find employment in the carefully guarded mahogany sawmill.

#### War-Damaged Country

After another hour's ride on the red, bumpy road, the convoy reaches Mboro, on a hill. Mboro was previously one of the biggest mission stations of the Verona brothers in the Sudan, before they were expelled in 1964. Since then, the large church has served no purpose and is neglected. Four black soldiers, who were only recently accepted in the army according to a decree by Numayri, led me to the mission school hidden in the tall grass. With a shy glance they point to the schoolrooms. Innumerable impacts of projectiles are scattered over the walls; traces of dried blood stick to the walls. In the teachers' room is disorder, books are lying around; here too traces of blood and shots. The children have drawn machine guns and beasts of prey pierced by arrows on the once white walls -- the things around which their young lives revolve. One of the black soldiers says that dozens of children were killed by the army here. I ask him how he would act toward his people in case of a repetition of such events. "There would be no doubt for me that I would point my gun at my Arab comrades to prevent this. It was for just this reason that I joined the army, to see from the inside that no more such 'incidents' occur!"

Back in Khartoum, I ask at the Ministry of State for Southern Affairs why the middle schools moved from Juba and Rumbek to Khartoum and Omdurman were not returned to their original places. For at the moment there is only one middle school for the more than three million blacks in the Sudan, in Malakal -- which accepts

Approved For Release 1999/09/02 : CIA-RDP79-01194A000300070001-6  
 this transfer of the middle schools to the north is not at all contradictory of Numayri's program to close the educational gap between south and north. He uses as an argument that the pupils from the south would certainly decide in favor of the present school locations in an opinion poll, for the climate in Khartoum is more pleasant than their tropical homeland...

NILE MIRROR, Khartoum  
 March 25, 1971

#### Sudanese Diplomat Replies Press Allegations

CPYRGHT

SUNA reports that TASS News Agency published the reply of the Sudanese diplomat Mohamed El Amin Abdulla, which was published in the London "TIMES" and in which the writer refuted the allegation in the Southern Sudan. These allegations stated that 100 Soviet advisors are directly assisting, what the Magazine described as the government of Khartoum against 6 million Southern Sudanese.

The Soviet News Agency stated that the Sudanese diplomat in his reply to the allegations of the American Magazine indicated that the population of the Southern Provinces, according to statistics is less than 3 million, the majority of whom are hirelings of imperialist circles. The Sudanese diplomat, the Agency went on, has refuted another point in the Magazine's allegations regarding the alleged participation of Soviet Advisors in military operations, by stating that the reports of "TIME" correspondent are undoubtedly based on secret reports on the recent military offensive in which the Sudanese Armed Forces have crushed all outlaws camps on the border and that "TIME" correspondent has admitted that these camps were built for the purpose of training soldiers as well as black mercenaries with an eye to sneaking them into Sudanese territory. The Soviet Agency add that the Sudanese diplomat pointed out that "TIME" correspondent has on purpose belittled the outcome of the victories of the Sudanese Armed Forces so as to create doubt in the capabilities of these forces. The Soviet Agency conclude its highlights of the Sudanese diplomat's reply by saying that the Soviet Union does not hide the fact that she has been offering assistance to the Democratic Republic of the Sudan since independence.

CPYRGHT

CPYRGHT

SUDAN

Soviet Help To Crush Southern Rebellion  
Denied

The general command of the Sudanese armed forces has denied a report that Soviet experts were supporting the Sudan in an attempt to uproot the rebellion in the southern part of the country through building a Soviet military base or missile sites along the Sudan's coast on the Red Sea. The command's statement reported from Khartoum by the Middle East News Agency, said the allegation appeared in an American magazine and was broadcast by Addis Ababa radio. The command said that British, Indian and other ships were sailing through the Red Sea and could have seen this alleged base if it really existed.

The command's statement warned that these allegations might be in preparation for a foreign intervention based on the false claim that the Soviet Union was building bases in the Sudan and fighting side by side with Sudanese soldiers in domestic security operations. Rebels in the Southern Sudan have been clashing with government troops for years in an attempt to create a separate state. The government has promised them a measure of autonomy.

Que se passe-t-il

au sud du  
Soudan ?

Fin février, le commandement de l'armée soudanaise a déclaré qu'en date du 19 février dernier, la Radio-Addis-Abéba avait diffusé une information attribuée à « Time Magazine » et selon laquelle les experts soviétiques seraient en train d'éliminer les rebelles au sud du Soudan et qu'en outre, ils construisaient une base navale et des emplacements pour les missiles sur les côtes soudanaises.

La radio aurait ajouté que les experts soviétiques accompagnent l'armée soudanaise dans ses opérations contre les rebelles. Le commandement de l'armée soudanaise a démenti ces informations tendancieuses et a donné les précisions ci-dessous.

Il n'y a pas de base marine ni des emplacements de missiles sur les côtes soudanaises. D'autre part, ajoute le commandement de l'armée, les forces soudanaises ont fait des incursions pour la sécurité au sud du Soudan pendant 16 ans et elles continuent à le faire, tout en gagnant chaque jour plus de terrain. Jusqu'avant la révolution, de mai, il y a deux ans, nous n'avons pas demandé l'aide soviétique.

Le but de la campagne de la presse occidentale, fait ressortir le communiqué du commandement de l'armée soudanaise, est de mettre en doute les succès de nos forces armées en prétextant que seule l'intervention étrangère est susceptible à nous apporter la victoire. Il ne fait aucun doute que cette campagne vise à gâcher nos relations avec l'URSS.

De son côté, Rudolph Chimelli, journaliste allemand qui a visité le Soudan en janvier dernier a fait un reportage sur les activités soviétiques contre les rebelles sudistes.

Selon le journaliste allemand, dans un hélicoptère soviétique en provenance de Djuba vers Meridi, l'équipage était composé d'un Soudanais, d'un Soviétique qui a dirigé le vol, de deux navigants, un Soviétique et un Egyptien et deux soldats. En décrivant l'importance de l'aide soviétique contre les Anya-Nya, Chimelli dit que les rebelles perdent de plus en plus de terrain et que la bataille la plus dure s'est déroulée à Morotto, situé sur les frontières ougandaises. A l'issue de cette bataille de 25 jours, les rebelles ont perdu plusieurs des leurs. Les forces décisives, rapporte Chimelli, ont été les hélicoptères pilotés par les Russes au point que même l'officier soudanais de commandement aurait affirmé que l'armée soudanaise ne pouvait pas entreprendre une telle bataille sans l'intervention des hélicoptères.

NILE MIRROR  
April 8, 1971

CPYRGHT

Reply to "Time" Magazine

*We republish here the Reply to "Time" magazine written by Mohamed El Amin Abdalla, a Sudanese Diplomat which was Published in New Times No. 12 of March 24, 1971)*  
"Nile Mirror"

Time magazine in its March 1, 1971, issue published an article under the title "Africa Rumbling on the Faultline." The author had chosen Sudan to be the subject of his imaginative article. Under the subtitle "Soviet Vietnam," the author, in addition to a number of absurdities and misleading information about the Sudan, stated that "about 100 of Sudan's Soviet advisers are directly helping the Khartoum government to prosecute its civil war against 6,000,000 black Southerners."

To begin with, the figure given for the total number of Sudanese living in southern part of the country is a pure invention. According to known records, the total popula-

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provinces is much less than 3 million, of which more than two million are from large Nilotic tribes who are committed against the Steiner followers and rebel activity and policies as a whole.

Another invention is the alleged participation of Soviet military experts in hostilities in Southern Sudan. Under the arresting subtitle "Drums Sounding," the author states: "Since last September the Russians and the Soviet Union have been helping the Sudanese army to capture the 'Arab' bases."

However, the Sudanese Army did capture the mercenaries' bases and is able to deal effectively with any intruder in the southern part of the Sudan.

However, it is no secret that the Soviet Union does offer assistance to the Democratic Republic of the Sudan. The Sudanese people after more than 15 years of independence found the Soviet Union and the Soviet people to be their true friends. The Sudanese-Soviet friendship is also no secret to be hidden from any quarter. On the contrary, the

Sudanese and the Soviet people always feel proud whenever this friendship is mentioned.

Whether the author is a Zionist or a hired back in Israel's pay is beside the point, but the publication of such an article is unquestionably an insult to Time magazine readers: The editors of Time in their blind support of Israel and the Zionist strategy of aggression and intervention in African affairs, have indeed paid a high price in terms of the integrity of Time magazine by allowing such an article to be published.

Mohamed el Amin Abdalla  
Sudanese Diplomat

CPYRGHT

No doubt the author of the article was prompted and inspired by the recently published news that a contingent from the Sudanese Army had completely liquidated the rebel camps on the Sudan-Uganda boundary. These camps, as admitted by the author of the Time article, were used by Israel to train European and African mercenaries who infiltrated into Sudanese territory. The success of the Sudanese Army unit in crushing these boundary pockets of mercenaries is not expected to be good news for the employers of the Steiners and other interventionist enemies of the Sudanese and African people.

The rebels, the mercenaries and their Zionist employers knew very well that a small unit of the Sudanese Army, without any assistance from the air, and unaccompanied by any "Russians," captured these camps. By alleging that the Russians did it, the author sought to question the ability of the Sudanese Army unit to do it alone. Such an attitude is only natural, for the Zionists and racists of all kinds do not believe that Africans alone are capable of doing anything without a Steiner or a European of some sort to lead them, but whether the Zionists like it or

WASHINGTON POST

June 16, 1971

### Cholera in South Sudan

The four million Southern Sudanese must feel deeply distressed by the fact that hundreds of their compatriots are dying every month from an epidemic of cholera while the rest of the world looks on with indifference. Is it necessary for the disease to reach proportions similar to those in East Pakistan for the world to show concern? Or does one have to believe the international community has lost its capacity for compassion and indignation?

The incident of cholera which first appeared last March in the Southern province of Upper Nile, has been spreading gradually to the other two provinces of Bahr el Ghazal and Equatoria. Today several hundreds of people are reported dead, particularly in Upper Nile and Equatoria provinces. But the disease is still spreading at an increased rate owing to the coming of the rainy season in South Sudan. To cite a few cases of villages worse hit in the Eastern region of Equatoria province:

1. Ngangala village .... 70 people dead;
2. Liangari village ..... 50 people dead;
3. Lirya village ..... 80 people dead.

On the other hand, the disease has now reached Northern Uganda where not less than ten persons are reported dead during the last week of May 1971.

Since April 1971 several appeal letters have been addressed to the office of the Director General of the World Health Organization for medical relief and for a medical team to help forestall the spread of the epidemic to other areas. Southern Sudanese groups in Europe have addressed letters pointing out (a) that there are no medical services in Southern villages, no physicians, no vaccines for inoculation, and (b) that

CPYRGHT

the Khartoum government has refused to send relief to the South. In fact, for the Arab-dominated government, the outbreak of disease like that of famine is regarded with convenience as a partial fulfillment of the Arab principle "to maintain control over Southern land even at the expense of three quarters of the African population."

But why is the United Nations organization silent while it is occupied in bringing help to similarly stricken people of Pakistan? Is it not time someone took up the case of the dying Africans of South Sudan?

LAWRENCE WOL VOL,  
European Representative of the  
Southern Sudan Liberation Movement.  
Bordeaux, France.



# **SOLIDARITY**

Vol. 1 No. 22 April 12-18, 1971 Published by the National Caucus of Labor Committees

## ***Israel Arms Black Guerrillas In Sudan***

CPYRIGHT

by Peter Brand

April 4 — Israel and the United States, in reaction to the May 1969 coup by left-wing Sudanese officers, are providing arms and advisors for a guerilla movement among the black population of the Southern Sudan, according to the March 23rd *Jerusalem Post*.

The Anya-Nya guerilla organization, which claims to represent the interests of seven million Sudanese blacks against Arab domination dating back to the slave trade, has received arms drops from the U.S. and later from Israel whenever the Khartoum government took a leftward turn. In 1965, during a pro-Russian phase of the overthrown government, U.S. arms were airlifted from the Congo, and black American agent joined the guerillas. This aid was halted and advisors withdrawn as soon as government policy changed.

### **Israeli Aid**

Since the 1969 coup of Colonel Jaafar Muhammed el-Nimeiry placed Sudan in alliance with Egypt and the Soviet Union, Israel has undertaken bi-monthly airdrops of war material, mostly arms captured during the 1967 war. The Anya-Nya first requested aid in 1968, but Israel made no decision until the 1969 coup, following consultations with Ethiopia, Uganda, and the Congo. Besides supplying arms, Israel trains guerilla officers within her borders and advises them at the front.

Employing a parallel tactic, the U.S. has decided against open aid for the guerillas at this juncture, rather choosing to encourage right-wing Sudanese Arab circles funded by Saudi Arabia. According to an Anya-Nya leader, "If the Americans can throw out Numeiry by using his Arab opposition, they won't give us a dime."

Since 1963, the war, along with disease and other disruptions of normal life, has claimed between 500,000 and 1,000,000 dead. The southerners' allegation of Northern racism is seemingly borne out by the non-representation of blacks in education, army and the administration, although blacks comprise 40% of the Sudanese population.

Simultaneous with Israeli support for the blacks, the regular Sudanese army is armed and trained by the Soviet Union. Almost 1,000 Russian advisers are currently stationed in the North; furthermore, according to the *Jerusalem Post* Egyptian pilots were imported for difficult missions in the South, and more than 100 Russian officers are leading operations against the guerillas. The Norwegian paper *Morgenbladet* headlined a story, "Soviets have their Vietnam."

Egyptian planes were also deployed against strongholds of the Ansar Muslim, a conservative Arab sect of two million members, after an attempt by Ansar members to assassinate Numeiry during a regional tour.

### **African Unity?**

The Sudanese conflict has made a shambles of intra-African unity on other fronts; while the Ethiopian monarchy shelters right-wing Sudanese exiles, Sudan, along with Libya, supports the Eritrean Liberation Front.

It is now the prerogative of socialist advocates of "national self-determination" to opt for either the long-popular Arab self-determination, or the equally popular (Israeli-backed!) black self-determination.

The coalescing Israeli and U.S. intervention are patterned after the successful subversion of the militant Syrian and Iraqi regimes last fall, and the crushing attacks against the Palestinian guerilla movement. As Libya abandoned its stale militant posturing to settle with Western oil companies, accepting the much-disputed five-year freeze on royalty rates, this strategy has yielded at least a temporary success.

The successful conclusion of oil negotiations, as predicted in *Solidarity* of Feb. 19th, reflects the undermining of the Arab bargaining position via assaults on virtually every center of Arab militancy.

According to *Solidarity's* European sources, the oil corporations concerned planned a boycott of Libyan oil had the Libyan government not capitulated.

CPYRGHT Berne, April 26th 1971

# RUSSIA HELPS THE SUDAN TO SUPPRESS AFRICANS

by Peter Sager

The Sudan is not yet ready to join the new Arab Federation which has just been formed between Egypt, Syria and Libya. This absence of the Sudan has come as a considerable surprise: for until very recently President Numeiry seemed to be playing a leading part in efforts at unity between Arab countries. It has looked as though for the first time in the history of pan-Arabism, we would shortly see an advance towards unity on the part of four, instead of three, countries. But, following a visit to Moscow which can hardly be a coincidence, Numeiry has opted out of the latest federation at the last minute.

The fact is that the Sudanese Communist Party is still extremely powerful in Khartoum, and it has recently come out against the proposed federation. Numeiry has been at odds with the Communist Party, and he has felt free to take action against it without danger of offending the Soviet Union - for this is the course that every other Arab country has felt free to take within the last decade. In every other case, and the most striking is Egypt, the Russians have allowed national leaders to do exactly what they like with local Communists as long as foreign policy has been broadly in line with Soviet ideas.

But for the Soviet Union, the Sudan has become an exception. Here the Russians are not prepared to accept either the eclipse of local Communists or defiance by the regime of the stated policies of local Communists - which themselves most probably originate in the Soviet Union. Why the difference?

The answer is to be found without any doubt in the situation which has developed in the southern Sudan, where for years the Arab-dominated Sudanese Government has been fighting a civil war against the African inhabitants of the southern provinces.

Until last year, however, the southern rebels had been bitterly divided, and for this reason they were no great danger to the government forces which easily remained in control of the main population centres. About the middle of 1970, however, unity negotiations were successful, and all the rebel groups agreed to come together in the Anyanya movement under the command of Joseph Lagu. In spite of Sudanese Government hopes, this seems an arrangement with which all the rebels are broadly satisfied, and it resulted at the time in an immediate increase in the efficiency of rebel activities, an efficiency which has increased as the Anyanya cause has become better known abroad and has been able to elicit both funds and arms from wellwishers in other countries.

The next development in the Sudanese civil war became apparent last October: a development of the very highest importance for all Africa and one which seems to have been a direct result of the strengthening of the rebel movement.

This development was nothing short of large-scale Soviet intervention in the civil war in an effort (by the Sudanese Arabs, if not necessarily the Russians) to bring the rebels to immediate defeat. The Soviet aim is to burden the Sudanese leadership with a debt of gratitude on a matter which is near the hearts of all Sudanese Arabs - a gratitude which would most likely continue even in the event of a change of regime in Khartoum. For the moment, however, there has been no

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definite support of the Sudanese Government, although these are suffering very greatly from Soviet intervention; and as a consequence the Sudanese Government is at the moment completely dependent on the intervention and has become an implement of Soviet foreign policy - a trump-card for the Russians which probably means that, as in the case of the Arab-Israel conflict, they are not genuinely eager to bring the war situation to an end.

The best description of Soviet activities in the southern Sudan has been given by a German correspondent of the Munich "Sueddeutsche Zeitung" who at the end of last year was able to join the flight of a Soviet MI-8 helicopter gunship from Juba to Meridi in the southern Sudan. He reported that although the nominal captain of the aircraft was a Sudanese, it was actually flown by a Russian pilot and an Egyptian navigator. He also says that these helicopters are used for bombing and strafing operations, and they are always under the effective command of Russians or Egyptians. Other reliable sources make it clear that at least 5 Soviet rocket-carrying Antonov-24 bombers and 12 TU-16 bombers have also been used for bombing and strafing.

Nor is the Soviet contribution limited to airborne activity. Soviet advisers are also joining in ground operations - and there an analogy has been made with the military role played by US observers in the Vietnam war during the early 60s. The main base for the Russian advisers is Juba, the capital of Equatoria Province and the main town in the south. There are between 100 and 200 serving members of the Soviet Red Army stationed in Juba, and their principal role is to accompany Sudanese patrols into rebel-held areas and give strategic and tactical advice. There is a fully-equipped Soviet training area on an island in Lake No, which is part of the "sudd", the immense swamp which carries the Nile through the southern Sudan.

Outside the immediate battle area, at Port Sudan on the Red Sea coast, the Soviet Union has installed Sam-2 missiles to defend the country as a whole. The fear here seems to be of a possible link-up between the Israelis and the Anyanya, which means again that the type of partnership between the Russians and the Arabs which has been so instrumental in bringing Egypt to a state of moral dependence on the Soviet Union is being extended fully to the Sudan.

Taking all these activities together, it is estimated that the Russians already have over a thousand military personnel in the Sudan. They are not satisfied with their penetration into Egypt; the Suez Canal is not enough to the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, which Moscow considers to be the most vital strategic areas of the next few years. And to penetrate effectively into these areas the lives of many thousands of black Africans in the southern Sudan are seen as pawns of little consequence.

Berne, May 10th 1971

THE SUDAN IN SOVIET STRATEGY

By Ian Tickle

CPYRGHT

There are signs that the Sudan is on the way to becoming a centre of Soviet influence in Africa.

Largely because of concern for the people of the southern Sudan, the global ramifications of this new role have been overlooked; and yet it should not be supposed that the large-scale Soviet aid provided to help the Sudan crush the southern rebellion has been given out of feelings of pure friendship for the military ruler in Khartoum, General Numeiry.

For more than five years, the Russians have seen their influence grow steadily in Egypt. As in the Sudan more recently, this influence has been fed by the general instability of a country at war. Since the 1967 war with Israel, Egypt's economic and military recovery has been exclusively due to gifts from the Soviet Union; and with these gifts have come technicians and soldiers. There have been indications that Egyptian politicians could not always act in important matters without asking their Soviet counterparts first.

But for the Russians the new regime of President Sadat has been a disappointment. In his quiet way the new president has moved in two directions; and it seems that in doing this he has had one aim - to free his country from the Soviet grip. In the first place, he has been making apparently sincere attempts to come to a peace with Israel; the process has not got very far yet, and there is no question in Sadat's mind of a surrender to Israel's terms. But the indications are that he is more genuine in his attempts to reach peace than President Nasser ever was. As the Soviet presence in Egypt is fed by the instability of the war situation, this is also a significant move away from Soviet domination. A peaceful Egypt devoted only to economic progress would have little need of Soviet aid. Secondly, President Sadat has set about eliminating important members of his predecessor's regime who have allowed themselves to become compromised by their support of Soviet influence.

If this process has only very recently come to the light of day with the dismissal of Ali Sabri from his post of Vice-President, it has nevertheless been going on for a considerable number of months. The Soviet Union has therefore been looking around for another ally which will serve the same interests in the same area, and if possible increase them. It has hit upon the Sudan, and the first fruits of this policy have taught the Russians that if their influence can be well established in Khartoum they will have a base which in the long run will be of more use to them than Egypt.

The Egyptian base was established at a time when the main object of Soviet policy was establishing a naval presence in the Mediterranean. This has been done, and today this presence is widely accepted. Soviet strategy now is devoted to establishing a similar presence in the more distant Indian Ocean and using this for bringing influence to bear in African countries. Soviet interests have thus quite naturally moved from the area of the Suez Canal farther south.

This has coincided with another change in Soviet policy - which has not been

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enunciated in any document, but which is becoming clearer and clearer as a piece of evidence. The Russians have increasingly found themselves outflanked in Africa by the Chinese - because the latter have been lending their support to guerrilla movements, while the Soviet Union has concentrated on diplomatic relations with existing governments. This policy has had meagre results, however, because existing governments do not need to rely on Soviet aid; and they are beginning to learn by experience that this aid usually leads to a degree of loss of independence over any lengthy period of time.

So the Russians have again taken to examining their attitudes to guerrilla movements; and those which appear safe from Chinese influence are once more beginning to receive their aid. An important piece of evidence for this is the already notorious book recently published in Russian in Moscow entitled "Political Parties of Africa" - which implies future Soviet support for the 'revolutionary-democratic' parties of Africa.

If there is to be peace between Israel and Egypt, the Suez Canal will be open, and the Soviet Union does not need to bother much more about its communications with the Indian Ocean through Suez. The Sudan, on the other hand, can provide it with valuable bases on the Red Sea - which strategically is part of the Indian Ocean - and can act as a valuable supplement to the facilities already established at Aden and Socotra farther south. In the sphere of oceanic strategy, the Sudan is therefore not less important than Egypt.

Where the Sudan has a great advantage over Egypt, however, is in its relation to the rest of Africa. Much play has been made of Soviet aid to the regime to suppress the black Africans in the south. This aid is naturally calculated to offend many African regimes which have hitherto had sympathy with the Soviet Union. But these cannot afford to make too much of this because of the risk of secessionist movements in their own countries - and the danger that they may eventually need Soviet aid for the same purposes as the Sudan. On the other hand, this is an element which is not likely to prevent the 'revolutionary-democratic' parties from accepting Soviet support - for the latter is likely to be much more effective in material terms than support from the Chinese Communists, even though their ideological sympathies may be more with the latter.

As well as suppressing its own black Africans, the Sudan is now a base for subversion in other black African countries. FROLINA, the Arab liberation organisation fighting the French in Chad, is able to subsist because of the support which it has claimed in the Sudan and the use of Sudanese territory for regrouping its forces. In addition to this, the Eritrean liberation movement, which is trying to carve out an independent Eritrea from Ethiopia, has also successfully claimed support from the Sudan.

In supporting these two movements, the Sudanese regime shows that its concern is more with the extension of Arabism than in a general disapproval of secession. It is fighting against its own secessionists in the south, and supporting secessionist movements in both Chad and Ethiopia. This is in stark contrast to the position of the Nigerian Government, which has opposed secession everywhere regardless of the merits or beliefs of the secessionist movements - on the ground that only such an attitude can justify what it demanded of all other countries on the Biafran issue.

The Numeiry regime in the Sudan has withstood ten attempts to bring it down. It would not now exist if it were not for Soviet aid; and such has been the efficiency of Soviet infiltration that at the moment every change of regime which is conceivable in the confused constellation of Sudanese politics would also owe its existence to the Soviet Union.

WASHINGTON POST

June 24, 1971

# Sudan: Not Quite Arab-Afro Bridge

CPYRGHT

By Jim Hoagland

Washington Post Foreign Service

KHARTOUM, The Sudan — The Sudan's unexpected decision to stay out of the proposed federation of Arab states is as much an indication of its continuing confusion over national identity

## News Analysis

as of its specific political hang-ups on joining Egypt, Syria and Libya in a constitutional union.

When he dropped out of the federation talks in Cairo in mid-April, Sudanese military ruler Maj. Gen. Jaafar Nimeri said the Sudan might join the Arab grouping in a short time.

But skepticism seems to have grown since then about the Sudan's future in such a union.

"Never," said a high official in the ministry of foreign affairs, "we will never join them in a constitutional union." He paused, and then added cautiously, "Well, at least not in 20 years."

The Sudan lies in Northeast Africa, just south of Egypt. It is often referred to as the bridge between Africa and the Arab world. "That is a happy dream," says one diplomat here. "A more accurate description might be the fringe of both worlds."

The Sudan is in the unhappy position of being too close to the Middle East to be able to ignore it and too far away to influence it.

"We worry about what happens in the Sudan just before we worry about what happens in Brazil," one Israeli diplomat stationed in Africa quipped recently.

Nimeri's government views itself as Arab, but the distance between the identification of the Sudanese peo-

ple with other Arabs, and especially Egyptians, seems to have greatly increased since the Sept. 28 death of Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser.

"The steam seems to have gone out of the pan-Arab movement since Nasser's death," one knowledgeable observer here said. "Nasser was so idolized by the Sudanese public that they were willing to forget about the grudges built up when the Egyptians occupied the country [in the 19th Century]. Now he is gone and the grudges are back."

On the other hand, the Sudan's role in Africa has been greatly undercut by its continuing effort to crush an uprising in the southern third of the country by black African tribesmen, who make up perhaps one-fourth of the country's population.

Joining the federation would effectively put an end to the recent moves by some government officials to increase the Sudan's identification with Africa. An African affairs section was created for the first time in the ministry of foreign affairs, the Sudan's role in the Organization of African Unity has been emphasized, and officials have been told that references to the Sudan being a part of the Arab revolution in public speeches and documents should be followed by reference to the country's role in the African revolution as well.

## Sudan's Heart

But the collective Sudanese heart does not seem to be in this, either.

"The man in the street does not want to be considered an African," said one of the brown-skinned northerners. "That is like

being considered slave to them. It is unfortunate."

But even sophisticated northerners talk about the southerners in much the same way white Portuguese talk about black Angolans. They marvel at the number of wives the southerners keep, talk about how some of them really do want to learn and go to school but how lazy most of them are and occasionally squeamishly discuss the primitive customs of the blacks.

Most of the northerners are Moslem and speak Arabic. They are generally estimated by anthropologists to have between one-half and one-fourth Arab blood.

## Toynbee's View

The conventional wisdom is that the Sudan is both Arab and African.

Arnold Toynbee summed it up when he wrote that the problem of the Sudan: "is the problem of the two Africas on a miniature scale, and therefore, the Sudan holds Africa's destiny, as well as her own destiny, in her hands. If she can succeed in reconciling the two elements [of Negro Africa and North Africa] in her population, she will have done a piece of constructive pioneer work for the continent as a whole."

CPYRGHT

Approved For Release 1999/09/02 : CIA-RDP79-01194A000300070001-6

AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN

April 1-30, 1971

## SUDAN

CPYRGHT  
Fighting in South

According to the *East African Standard* operations by the Anyanya in the Southern Sudan continued during February and March and into April. The movements freedom fighters were subjected to bombing raids by aircraft carrying Sudanese Government and Egyptian markings early in March. Many civilian casualties were reported in the Malakal, Nasir, and Abwong Regions.

Three Anyanya fighters were killed when two Egyptian commando companies led an attack on their supply station at Owiny Ki Bul.

In retaliatory raids, a Sudanese Army position on Ringhasi Bridge was attacked and an Army lorry was blown up on a mine at the bridge. Another Sudanese Army vehicle was destroyed by a mine on the Juba-Torit road. More mines accounted for 11 of a convoy of 17 Army lorries on the road between Tambura and Wao.

came to power in a coup on May 25, 1969.

Like Egypt, its next-door neighbor and big Arab brother, Sudan under Nimeiry is learning how to live with a Soviet military presence but without communism.

The Russians put on their biggest military show yet this year. Even Nimeiry ducked as a flight of precision-flown MIG 17 jets with Soviet pilots at the controls screamed at little more than treetop height across the river Nile.

Sudanese commandos dropped into the river from Russian helicopters and in a mock exercise stormed an island in mid-river with Soviet weapons. And SAM-2 missiles were on show for the first time in Sudan.

But for ordinary Sudanese the downgrading of local leftist organizations was as significant as the display of Soviet arms. Amid the T-54 tanks, Nimeiry's own new "May Battalions" marched in their new bottle-green uniforms.

A few hours later at Khartoum football stadium, punctuated by the beat of native drums from a big and excitable crowd, the President explained how he had decided to dissolve most of the old unruly political groups and create new political institutions in this largest of African countries.

Nimeiry cited Sudan's lack of solid political institutions as his main reason for not joining a recently proclaimed federation with Egypt, Libya and Syria.

He stated that he will take Sudan into the group when it is mature, nevertheless recent political turmoil in Egypt is not likely to increase Sudan's desire to join. Many people feel the country should concentrate on its own problems, including a war with secessionists in the south, and leave the dangerous area of inter-Arab politics alone.

Egypt's political cataclysm, in which President Anwar Sadat turned back an attempted coup, sent shock waves rolling through Sudan.

There are many on the left here who also feel that Sadat went too far toward accommodating Israel and the United States in search of a political settlement.

## RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SUDAN

By John Chadwick  
CPYRGHT

Khartoum, Sudan, June 13, Reuter -- The missiles, the tanks and the low-flying jets were unmistakably from the Soviet Union, and Russian military men were many and conspicuous among the crowds watching the parade.

But this year, on the second birthday of Gen. Jaafar Nimeiry's army-backed revolution, the red banners of Sudan's traditionally communist-dominated labor unions were noticeably absent from the celebrations.

And the leftist women's and youth federations which marched in last year's parade were also gone -- disbanded a few weeks before by Nimeiry, who

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"Sadat's new friendship treaty with the Soviet Union will certainly help to reduce Nimeiry's troubles with leftwingers here who are fearful of having too close relations with Egypt," said one official.

Nimeiry sought in a recent newspaper article to allay fears that the federation meant Egyptian domination of the Arab world.

He said the late President Nasser had told him more than once that unity between Egypt and Sudan was a necessary first step for wider cohesion among Arab states in the area.

Arab unity was also one of the main objectives of Sudan's own revolution in 1969, Nimeiry told the Cairo newspaper Al Akhbar.

SUNDAY POST, Lagos  
May 2, 1971

# THE WAR IN SUDAN: TWO VIEWS

## ~~'NUREMBERG' TRIAL FOR MERCENARY.~~

~~from the Uganda Argus, 21 January, 1971~~

~~West German officials will be allowed to visit Wolf Steiner, a West German national accused of leading secessionist troops against the Government of Southern Sudan, an Information Ministry spokesman said yesterday.~~

~~"The Cairo daily newspaper, Al-Akhbar, reported yesterday that Sudan would hold a Nuremberg style trial in which a Pan-African tribunal~~

~~should be formed under Mr. Babak Awad alaph, the Sudanese Deputy Premier, to try the defendant. The judge would represent the O.A.U. member states.~~

~~At a Press conference at which Steiner's arrest was announced, it was described as a 'major African victory' which should mark the beginning of the end of 'white' mercenary activities in Africa."~~



### FOR THE RECORD:

Rolf Steiner volunteered to help our cause. Since we do not believe in employing others to fight our battles, we refused his offer. He then found employment with a small splinter fraction of the Southern Sudanese Resistance Movement.

We are not responsible for his action. But we do not deny that he fought for our cause.

Rolf Steiner is, to the best of our knowledge, the only white to have engaged in combat for our cause.

The ANYA NYA

## BUT THERE ARE OTHER

white mercenaries fighting today in Black Africa, in the war between the Southern Sudanese blacks and the Northern Sudanese Arabs!

## 2000 Egyptians 200 Russians

They fly mig aircraft

and combat helicopters against us, maintain bases on Sudanese territory, and advise and direct combat operations for the Arab regime in Sudan.





# *What The Anya Nya Freedom Fighters Say :*

CPYRGHT

**THE Anya Nya has however connected the Russians as well as Egyptians as another set of white mercenaries fighting today in black Africa in the war between the Southern Sudanese blacks and the northern Sudanese Arabs.**

**The Anya Nya claims that about 2,000 Egyptians and 200 Russians are in the services of the northern Sudanese Arabs flying mig aircraft and combat helicopter against them.**

ANYA NYA • page 578 March 1971

## **10 RUSSIAN PILOTS**

In January 1971 there were 10 Russian pilots in Juba, in the heart of the Southern provinces.

There are Egyptian bases at Aula and Shagra, near Khartoum.

There is a closed Russian base at Wadi Sidna. These Russian and Egyptian mercenaries helped to burn 25 blacks alive in a church in Banja. They helped to cut off black women's breasts in Central Equatoria, and starve half a million blacks to death in the bush, where they fled bombings and atrocities.

The Arabs of Sudan do not even deny their existence or activities.

## **THESE EGYPTIANS AND RUSSIANS ARE WHITE**

As white as Germans or South Africans.

Some of them are North Africans, while the others call themselves "progressive forces"

## **THEY ARE ACTIVELY AIDING THE ARABS**

of North Sudan in a campaign to exterminate 4 million Southern Sudanese blacks who seek autonomy, and the right to speak their own African languages and practise their own African religions and traditions.

We too would like to see an end to white mercenary activities in Africa

THE ANYA NYA

They claim that these mercenaries maintain bases on Sudanese territories where they direct combat operations for the Arab regime in Sudan. The organisation also claimed that the notorious West German-born Wolf Steiner volunteered to help their cause but his services were refused. Steiner however found employment with a small splinter faction of the Southern Sudanese Resistance Movement. It will be recalled that Rolf Steiner featured prominently during the civil war in Nigeria on the side of the secessionists.



CPYRGH

- \* PICTURED above is the map of Africa showing the position of Sudan with two arrow marks indicating direction of alleged arms and mercenary support from the Soviet Union and United Arab Republic.
- \* On the right is an article defending the Soviet Union sent to the SUNDAY POST by the Sudan Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.
- \* And on the left are three facsimiles of the Nya Nya broadsheet, the propaganda newspaper that comes to the office of the SUNDAY POST regularly.

# Soviet Union Is Not Supporting Genocide In Southern Sudan

**T**HE peoples of the freedom and peace loving nations. of the world can now see with increasing clarity the great danger to independent Africa and to world peace from the evil plot being hatched by the reactionary forces of the United States, Israel, Great Britain and West Germany in the southern Sudan.

The scale of the military aid given by the Zionist-Imperialists to the South Sudanese terrorist organisation Anyanya has increased greatly in an effort to prevent the Sudanese Government from normalising the situation.

According to Sudanese Brigadier Hasan Amin, the Zionists and their imperialist allies are supplying vast quantities of the most modern types of arms, ammunition and medical supplies to the Anyanya terrorists.

Weapons captured by the Sudanese army from the brigands include armoured cars, rockets, howitzers, machine-guns, automatic rifles, anti-tank grenades and mines made in Western Germany.

About half the medical supplies captured from the bandits are made by West German firms, including the I. G. Farben successor firm Farbwerke Hoechst.

In the Middle East conflict, Sudan was always a true ally of the United Arab Republic and an activist leader in the struggle for independence of the Palestinians against Zionist-imperialist aggression.

After the direct attempts of the Zionist-imperialists to overthrow the progressive regime in the Sudan failed, they started implementing a campaign of sabotage and terrorism.

In order to weaken and damage the Sudan and prevent it from standing fast with the Arab nation, the so-called 'rebel movement' in the Sudan was made use of.

The task of the bandits, directed from Bonn and Tel Aviv, is to prevent the economic development of Southern Sudan and to force the country into high defence spending at the expense of economic projects.

The military clashes in the south eat up a great deal

of money and material away from the developing economy of the Sudan and prevent many of the resources from being sent to help liquidate the Israeli aggression.

The Zionist-imperialists have attempted to provoke a fratricidal war between the 9 million Arabs of the moslem faith who live in the north and the 5 million Christians and heathens belonging to black Africa who live in southern Sudan.

As the Zionist-imperialist conspiracy to sow a civil war in the Sudan is failing, the plotters seek to throw dust in the eyes of the freedom and peace loving peoples of the world with malicious lies about the Sudan and its great friend and ally, the Soviet Union.

Now, we must raise our voices in righteous indignation to put to rout these malicious slanders and canards.

To cover their own black deeds, the genocidists of Vietnam and Palestine accuse the Soviet Union of genocide in Southern Sudan. They claim that the Soviet pilots, based in Wadi Saidna, are flying Tupolev 16 and Antonov 24 bombers in bombing and napalm attacks on Juba and Wau and that Soviet tank crews are turning their cannon and flame-throwers on the peaceful population of Malakal.

These claims are completely untrue as there are no Soviet military personnel in the Sudan: there are only civilians assisting in the peaceful development of North and South Sudan.

The Soviet pilots at Wadi Saidna are only commercial air transport pilots flying freight as part of the Soviet assistance programme. And, Wadi Saidna is not a Soviet air base but the base for long-range penetration attacks

against Israel by the Sudanese and UAR air forces.

The present smear campaign against the Soviet Union is one more example of the perfidy of the Zionist imperialist Press similar to the lies it spread at the time of the so-called 'Aba Island massacre.'

This 'massacre' was nothing more than a police action by the Sudanese Government designed to calm the hungry crowd rioting for food against the fascist Imam al Mahdi who was holding them prisoner.

Ridiculous charges of 10,000 killed during the bombing of Aba Island were obviously impossible since there were scarcely more than that number of Ansars in the treacherous Imam's filthy lair.

The next slander to erupt from the ugly voice of the Zionist-imperialist world Press will be the claim that the Sudanese Government and its Soviet advisors are using poison gas in the Southern Sudan. After all, this same tall tale was used to undermine the Soviet Union in Yemen. We urge the Zionist-Imperialists to examine their own dirty hands in Vietnam and Palestine where millions of innocent people have been burned and gassed to death.

Just as the International Red Cross went into Yemen and was unable to find any traces of the use of poison gas, the Sudanese Government would be willing to call this same organisation into Southern Sudan to prove that the Soviet Union is not practising genocide there.

As the International Red Cross has become a Zionist-Imperialist tool, little can be served by calling this group into the Southern Sudan.

However, to prove the justice of our claim that the Soviet Union is not practising genocide in the Southern Sudan, we hereby proclaim on behalf of the Sudanese Government and people

that the aforesaid Government are willing to invite an international control commission composed of members of the fraternal socialist states to undertake a thorough search and examination of the Southern Sudan and we shall place our defence in the findings of this commission.

There can be no doubt that such a commission will find that so-called atrocities, massacres and genocide of the Southern Sudanese exist only in the evil imaginations of the murderers of Vietnamese and Arab women and babies.

History may be called as witness to testify that the Arabs and their allies would never be guilty of murdering their black brothers.

To repeat and disseminate slanders against the Soviet Union serves only the Zionist-Imperialist game. The aim is to stir up dissatisfaction among the people, the vast majority of whom support the Sudanese Government policy of regional autonomy and economic development of Southern Sudan, and ultimately to make the region once more the prey of monopoly capital.

'There can be no talk of an honourable mission of our group,' said the former rebel Makar Anok. 'We attacked all who supported the government programme by peaceful work. We wantonly slaughtered the cows, poultry and other livestock and burned the homes of ordinary people with all their belongings and sometimes with the people in them. It all turned into robbery, vandalism and murder.'

Many of the political leaders in the south of the country are for a peaceful solution of the conflict. Among the southerners, however, there are still many irresponsible people ready to sacrifice the lives of their countrymen for their own profits. And the Western powers are

banking upon these very people. They are giving the separatists a great deal of financial and military aid, weakening the country at a time when it

should not be diverting its efforts from support to the brothers in the Middle East. At the same time, certain neighbours of the Sudan would be well ad-

vised not to make unsupportable charges against the soldiers of the Sudan and their powerful fraternal allies. Unsubstantiated claims that Sudanese soldiers

cross the border and rob, rape and kill the local population can only serve the foul purposes of the Zionist-Imperialists.

CPYRGHT

SUNDAY POST, Lagos  
June 6, 1971.

## Come Off It. War In Sudan

WE in the SUNDAY POST believe that the war in Sudan has dragged for too long, Ghana has come out of military rule; Nigeria has fought a 30-month civil war and come out of it. Yet, Sudan still has her lingering sore.

We think the Sudan Government should sit up and find ways of settling this war. The OAU should no more look on in diplomatic pretence that nothing is happening.

If this body had stepped into border disputes and helped to find a solution to the Nigerian conflict, then it should also help Sudan find an equitable solution to the unending North-South feud in that country.

It is on this premise we publish the following rejoinder to the two-sided publication on the situation as published by this paper on May 2, 1971.

—EDITOR

## Can't Drag On For So Long

CPYRGHT

— Godwin Nsinim

INNUMERABLE crimes are committed in the Sudanese Republic today. The moslem Arabs of the north don't want to see the christian blacks of the south exist. While the Sudanese Head of State is talking of their so-called "Zionist-Imperialist aggression" in the Middle East, he forgets that his own house is on fire. He forgets the saying: Charity begins at home.

He totally forgets the war of aggression being waged by his Arab brothers also readed by himself against the blacks. The in-human and barbaric practices of the Arabs against the blacks, he will never see.

But, he sees the one that happens hundreds of miles away from his palace in Khartoum.

"The people of the freedom and peace-loving nations of the world can now see with increasing clarity the great danger to independent Africa and to world peace from the evil plot being hatched by the reactionary forces of the United States, Israel, Great Britain and West Germany in the Southern Sudan" wrote Sudan Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee in the "SUNDAY POST" of May 2, 1971.

Who are the freedom and peace-loving nations of the world? The capitalist or the socialist? Perhaps the answer this committee will give us, is the socialist nations.

From this piece of writing also, one can ask; who is really threatening African peace? Is it the socialist headed by Soviet Union or the capitalist headed by the US?

In Sudan in particular, is it those piloting jet bombs

to kill the blacks of the south or those crying against such evils?

While the Americans and their allies cry against such crimes, the Soviets and their allies do the contrary. Many Soviet pilots and military advisers are serving in the Sudanese military forces. The freedom fighters in Sudan have no organised army of their own and so, where are the Americans coming?

The fact that the writers of this article, "Soviet Union is not Supporting genocide in Southern Sudan" are socialists will not surprise anyone since socialism has made them not to think or give their views independently.

Blacks in several countries are today victims of inhuman, barbaric, iniquitous and unjustified discriminations which deny them of all rights even the most fundamental rights that are well recognised by man.

While the world condemns South African Government's policy of apartheid where it is supposed or rather believed that the whites are superior to the blacks on the same ground, which eventually denies the blacks of their basic rights as human beings of the same creator, the same world closes its eyes on the situation in Sudan where a simi-

lar practice exists.

Soviet-Egyptian help in killing the blacks of the Southern Sudan has got to a stage where the Security Council of the UN must have something to say. The genocide being committed in Sudan, I think is not by-passing any African leader. That we should close our eyes while our brothers and sisters are being stamped out from the face of this world is nothing short of our support to this wanton massacre, and no wonder we are being looked-down as second-class human beings.

To prove my Soviet-Egyptian genocide allegation in Southern Sudan; this committee, admitted the presence of the Soviet pilots in Sudan, although it captioned them as 'commercial air transport pilots'.

It admitted Wadi-Saida as a base "for long-range penetration attacks against Israel". Who is equipping this base, one would ask? Isn't it the Soviet?

Again, the same committee, probably with the approval of the Sudanese Government, to prove the justice of their claim that Soviet Union is not practising genocide in the Southern Sudan, gave a paper invitation to the International Red Cross to visit Sudan to see things by themselves but the

same committee committed itself in the face of justice when it said "as the International Red Cross has become a Zionist-Imperialist tool, little can be served by calling this group into the Southern Sudan."

This statement I think, is a proof of the committee's total rejection of IRC's visiting Sudan which in the other hand is a prove of the genocide being committed.

Another proof of my claim of genocide in the Southern Sudan, is the invitation of the "fraternal socialist States to undertake a thorough search and examination of the Southern Sudan".

Why is it that this committee invites the "fraternal socialist states" as a substitute for the International Red Cross?

If they know that genocide is no. being practised, why not allow the IRC, since this organisation went to Yemen and did prove wrong the alleged use of poison gas in that state or kingdom?

And why not this proposed fact-finding commission not compose of fraternal socialist and capitalist nations? The writing of this committee is a confusion of facts and faith. It has made mockery of everything for only inviting the fraternal socialist

States.  
This committee left the facts to write open facts for that matter, and went about writing issues that are not involved in the Sudanese crisis.  
The fact that the writers, writing for this committee were writing for this committee were writing about the Middle-East war, telling us how Israel is inflicting heavy blows on the Arabs is a prove of this.  
How the Middle-East war came to dominate their article is unimaginable. Because Sudan, a true ally of Egypt probably was the cause of this.

Many "direct attempts" by the Israelis and their allies to overthrow the "progressive regime" in the Sudan have been made but all to no success. So "they started implementing a campaign of sabotage and terrorism".  
Perhaps, this again brought Sudan directly to the Middle-East crisis.  
But, whose business is it, if attempts had been made to overthrow the Government of the Sudan? Is it the first time attempts to overthrow governments has been made?  
The provoking and discriminating war being waged by the Arabs of the north

against the blacks — their supposed brothers and sisters, has reached an alarming point! It is high time the OAU, UNO did something to bring this situation under control.  
The racial discrimination — apartheid, must be fought against as that in South Africa. This unseen apartheid policy of the Arabs is more threatening to world peace and that of Africa in particular than the one in South Africa.  
And as Nkrumah puts it, "wherever there is the possibility of conflict arising out of discriminations and the refusal of human rights

the peace of the world is threatened."  
The refusal and denial of human rights in the Southern Sudan, the denial of the right of the people to decide their destiny, to have their own freedom is one of the most critical problems facing Africa now.  
The apartheid rule in South Africa can be pardonable if we understand that the advocates of this policy are not Africans but foreigners who are residents of that part of the continent. But that practice in Sudan can not be.  
It is the most cruel thing one can think about African problems.

MARCH OF THE NATION  
January 1971

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# AVEC APACHE SUR LA RIVE GAUCHE

## LES ARABES SE SERVENT D'ARMES SOVIETIQUES POUR MASSACRER LES NOIRS

Le monde entier fait du vacarme lorsque des Britanniques vendent aux Sud-Africains des armes qui pourraient être retournées contre des Africains. Et cependant, pas un mot de protestation ne s'élève lorsque des armes soviétiques servent à tuer des Soudanais, et cela depuis plusieurs années.  
L'apartheid sud-africain est une souillure à la civilisation qu'aucun homme décent ne saurait approuver. Ce qui est épouvantable cependant, c'est de voir les mêmes gens condamner le racisme blanc et devenir soudain aveugles, sourds et muets lorsqu'ils se heurtent à d'autres aspects de la même maladie.

Si les Blancs de l'Afrique du Sud commettent un crime lorsqu'ils pointent leurs fusils sur des Sud-Africains noirs, la minorité arabe du Soudan en fait tout autant lorsqu'elle tourne les siens contre la majorité d'Africains qui habite la partie méridionale de ce pays.

Les armes que la Grande Bretagne entend fournir à l'Afrique du Sud en échange contre des installations dans la base de Simonstown, seront données pour des raisons purement stratégiques que la Grande Bretagne considère être essentielles à sa sécurité. Le Troisième Monde, habitué à tout voir avec des œillères, refuse d'admettre que les pays de l'Ouest aient besoin d'une base dans l'Océan Indien mais ne voit aucun inconvénient à ce que les navires russes se soient virtuellement emparés de cette région.

M. Swaran Singh de Singapour, lorsqu'il fut mis en présence des faits, c'est-à-dire de l'existence de bases navales soviétiques tout le long du périmètre de l'Océan Indien, nia l'évidence, affirmant qu'aucune base n'existait.

Il enchaîna en disant que les «installations» accordées aux Soviétiques étaient très différentes de la base de communication que les Britanniques et les Américains avaient l'intention de créer à Diego Garcia.

Lorsque le cas de la base navale de Socotra lui fut précisé, base que le Yémen a donnée récemment aux Soviétiques, Swaran Singh répondit que celle-ci n'existait pas du fait que les Soviétiques en niaient l'existence et que le Yémen du Sud avait répondu négativement à son enquête!

Swaran Singh semble être bien naïf pour croire de pareilles affirmations. Quel pays afficherait-il dans le monde des accords de ce genre?

## GENOCIDE AVERE

En ce qui concerne la guerre au Soudan qui, au cours de ces dernières années, a pris tournure d'un génocide pur et simple, ce n'est pas quelque boucherie hypothétique qui risque de se produire dans un avenir éloigné, mais un fait d'actualité dont les pays non-alignés détournent le regard parce que tel est leur intérêt.

Que le meurtre de Noirs au Soudan ait été ignoré, il n'en est pas pour cela moins horrible. Les détails de cette lutte inégale ont été rapportés à maintes reprises et dans toute leur horreur, mais ces mêmes «libéraux» qui pleurent à chaudes larmes lorsqu'il s'agit du Vietnam semblent dans ce cas s'en fiche totalement.

Une présentation particulièrement frappante de ce conflit inégal a été faite à la télévision norvégienne. Le compte rendu non moins poignant dans «Soudan — tragédie africaine» est de Per Yvind Heradstveit. Les auteurs de ce reportage n'ont pas hésité de qualifier de «meurtre d'une nation» ce qui se passait au Soudan. Cependant, le ministère norvégien des Affaires étrangères, avec sa modération diplomatique habituelle, examina la situation à travers ses lunettes teintées de rose et annonça que ces reportages l'avaient exagérée et qu'elle était en train de s'améliorer.

Afin de dégager le vrai du faux, un journal réputé, «Aftenposten», décida de vérifier les conclusions d'Heradstveit et de l'interroger au cours d'une interview.

Voici quelques extraits de l'article d'Audun Tjomsland publié par «Aftenposten»:

La controverse soulevée par le reportage télévisé de Per Yvind Heradstveit sur la guerre au Soudan, rejaillira certainement avec la parution prochaine de son livre sur le Soudan.

Il maintient ici ses allégations que le ministère norvégien des Affaires étrangères avait démenties et, entre autres, il emploie le terme «meurtre d'une nation». De quel côté que soit la vérité, Heradstveit a énormément contribué à mettre en lumière cette «guerre oubliée».

Heradstveit avait fait ce voyage d'environ un mois au cours de l'été dernier, et se rendit aussi bien dans le Soudan du nord que dans le Soudan du sud.

## REALITE INEVITABLE

Heradstveit tire dans ses programmes télévisés de nombreuses conclusions importantes. Entre autres, il emploie l'expression «meurtre d'une nation» pour qualifier les agissements des dirigeants arabes à l'égard de la population noire du sud.

Après que le ministre des Affaires étrangères Svend Stray eut refusé cette conclusion, le reporter déclara: «Il ne faut pas que cela devienne un conflit de terminologie. L'essentiel est d'ouvrir nos yeux sur les événements au Soudan, quel que soit le nom que nous leur attribuons.»

La définition habituelle de génocide est meurtre de personnes perpétré dans le but d'annihiler complètement ou partiellement leurs groupements nationaux, ethniques, raciaux ou religieux — et c'est bien le mot («folkemord» en norvégien) dont s'est servi Heradstveit.

Dans son livre, Heradstveit abandonne son masque professionnel de neutralité et d'objectivité et ne s'en cache pas. Après avoir vu les ruines d'une église dans la ville provinciale de Banja, où 28 personnes ont été assassinées, Heradstveit écrit:

«J'ai entendu des histoires de massacres d'Arabes dans le Soudan. Et je m'en suis méfié. Maintenant, je l'ai vu par moi-même.»

Approved For Release 1999/09/02 : CIA-RDP79-01194A000300070001-6

qui s'est trouvée sur les lieux.

Le monde a pu s'en rendre compte parce que, par hasard, deux reporters arrivaient sur place tout de suite après les événements. Personne ne sait combien il y eut de cas analogues, déclare Heradstveit.

D'autres communiqués sur l'oppression des populations négroïdes du sud par les Arabes ont été faits depuis juin 1970, date à laquelle Heradstveit et Stabrun (son collègue de la télévision) pénétraient dans les régions du Soudan méridional interdites jusqu'à cette date.

Selon l'évêque Lino Tiboi, par exemple, que a écrit d'Aba dans le Congo aux deux reporters de la télévision, des soldats arabes ont attaqué un village. Cinq personnes au moins ont été tuées et le reste des habitants se sont enfuis vers les forêts.

Le «Times» de Londres annonçait que par ailleurs six personnes avaient été tuées.

#### SENTIMENT NORVEGIEN

Qu'en pense le gouvernement norvégien?

«Nous ne nions pas que la situation soit sérieuse, nous ne doutons pas qu'il y ait eu des actes d'oppression des deux côtés et, bien entendu, nous ne mettons pas en doute le moins du monde l'authenticité des photographies de l'équipe de la télévision,» déclare le chef du département du ministère des Affaires étrangères Tim Greve à «Aftenposten». «Mais nous avons conduit notre enquête pendant une année, avant qu'Heradstveit et Stabrun ne se rendent au Soudan, et nous pensons être en mesure de confirmer notre déclaration qui dit que les conclusions sont exagérées.»

Il ne put cependant révéler les sources sur lesquelles le ministère des Affaires étrangères fonde ses affirmations.

Du côté opposé, Heradstveit prétend: «Je ne peux rien dire en dehors du fait que nous avons été au Soudan méridional, que nous avons vu les restes calcinés d'os et que nous avons senti l'odeur des cadavres, et nous nous sommes trouvés avec des gens qui ont été brutalisés par les Arabes. Et je n'ai pas l'intention de reculer d'un centimètre.»

Il ajoute d'autre part que les renseignements qui lui furent communiqués à Khartoum correspondent parfaitement à ce qu'avancent ses critiques mais que, d'après lui, ils ne correspondent pas du tout à la vérité.

Heradstveit cite à ce sujet un capitaine nommé «Michael» appartenant à l'Any-Nya (mouvement rebelle du Soudan du sud). «Ils (les Arabes) ne veulent pas de nous autres Noirs au Soudan,» a déclaré Michael. «Ils désirent nous faire disparaître. Ils veulent nos terres, nos champs, nos pâturages. Ils veulent contrôler le Nil. Ils ne veulent pas de nous dans un Soudan uni. Ils veulent nous éliminer.»

«En ce moment, des centaines de gens meurent de faim dans la brousse. Ils n'ont jamais vu un docteur, ils n'ont jamais eu assez à manger. Si cela n'est pas assassiner un peuple, je ne vois ce que vous croyez que c'est.»

Heradstveit commente: «Mais le monde se tait et accepte ce qui arrive.»

En résumant les arguments de ce conflit, Heradstveit écrit dans son livre:

«Les conflits raciaux, il y en a toujours eu entre Arabes du nord et Noirs du sud. Le fait prédominant est que les Arabes pensent que les peuples du sud sont comme des enfants, qu'ils appartiennent à une époque différente du développement historique, et qu'ils ne sont pas suffisamment «mûrs» pour se gouverner eux-mêmes ou pour exercer une influence sur le gouvernement central.»

#### TOUT AUSSI RACISTE

«Sous beaucoup de rapports,» poursuit Heradstveit, «nous retrouvons la façon de penser des Blancs de Rhodésie et d'Afrique du Sud. Il est tragique de voir que sous bien des rapports, les peuples africains ne sont pas «meilleurs» que le plus mauvais des racistes blancs. Et plus tragique encore est peut-être le fait que les Arabes eux-mêmes ne s'en rendent pas compte.»

Heradstveit pense que c'est là l'origine d'une guerre dont on a peu parlé et qu'on a appelé «la guerre oubliée».

Le nouveau régime, au pouvoir depuis l'été 1969, a reconnu que les relations avec la population du sud constituaient le problème principal du Soudan, et il a accordé officiellement aux provinces méridionales un gouvernement régional autonome.

Le nouveau président, Gaafar Nimeiri, a déclaré que les quatre mesures suivantes seraient mises en vigueur:

La loi sur l'amnistie serait élargie. Le Soudan méridional subirait un développement social et culturel, avec attention particulière au progrès économique. Un ministre pour les Affaires du sud serait nommé. L'éducation des Soudanais méridionaux commencerait pour leur permettre d'accéder à divers secteurs de l'administration.

Heradstveit dit dans son livre que le gouvernement de Nimeiri a fait preuve d'intention d'améliorer la situation. Mais il conclut que peu de choses ont été faites. Les mots ne suffisent plus au peuple. Il veut de l'action, et de l'action il n'y en a pas eu.

Les conclusions de la télévision norvégienne sont entièrement corroborées par l'important quotidien d'Oslo «Morgenbladet». Le 3 décembre, ce journal publiait un article de Gunnar Moe, qui non seulement mentionnait le génocide des Soudanais du sud mais accusait encore les Russes de fournir des armes qui servaient au gouvernement arabe de Khartoum pour attaquer la population noire du sud. Le passage suivant a été extrait de l'article de Moe dans «Morgenbladet»:

La guerre civile au Soudan méridional entre dans une phase nouvelle et plus sérieuse. Le gouvernement de Khartoum a lancé une violente offensive avec bombardiers, hélicoptères, napalm et infanterie motorisée, afin d'écraser «une fois pour toutes» l'organisation rebelle Anya-Nya.

Selon diverses sources, la grande offensive dirigée par des «conseillers» soviétiques aurait débuté vers la mi-septembre de l'année dernière.

Les avions russes font des vols de grande envergure et bombardent systématiquement la jungle où se cachent les rebelles. Le napalm ainsi que des bombes ordinaires sont utilisés. Ensuite, viennent les Arabes avec des tanks, de l'infanterie, des parachutistes et des hélicoptères. La jungle est «soigneusement passée au peigne fin». Derrière tout cela, viennent les conseillers militaires russes.

Les avions utilisés sont des MIG 21 et des bombardiers Antonov russes, ainsi que des hélicoptères MI 8. Le «Daily Telegraph» communiquait le 17 octobre 1970 que 27 bombardiers soviétiques supplémentaires étaient arrivés à l'aérodrome de Khartoum pour être livrés aux forces aériennes soudanaises. L'offensive se poursuivait pendant deux mois et demi, alors que le monde ne savait presque rien sur cette effusion de sang.

Khartoum ne cherche plus à cacher qu'une bataille se poursuit dans le sud. Le 9 novembre 1970, le général Khaled Hassan Abbas, ministre de la Défense, annonçait au cours d'une conférence de presse que les forces gouvernementales s'étaient emparées de quatre bases et deux pistes d'atterrissage pour avion qui servaient aux rebelles pour le transport d'armes, de médicaments et d'aliments. Une grande quantité d'équipement militaire, de canons antiaériens, de mines, de mortiers et de fusils automatiques ont été pris, a ajouté Abbas.

Des communiqués à ce sujet avaient paru entre autres dans le journal français «Le Monde». Le journal britannique «Evening Standard» a fait savoir lui aussi qu'environ 60 avions MIG 21 équipés et pilotés en grande partie par les Soviétiques sont stationnés actuellement dans la ville de Juba, capitale de la province méridionale d'Equatoria.

Le ministre pour le Soudan du sud, Joseph Garang, a confirmé récemment que la guerre était en escalade constante dans les trois provinces du sud, et a recommandé qu'une pression militaire plus grande soit exercée de Khartoum.

La présence active des Soviétiques au Soudan n'est pas accidentelle. Les Russes espèrent s'établir solidement dans le pays des points de vue politique et militaire. A l'instar du soutien qu'ils avaient accordé au gouvernement central du Nigeria lors du conflit avec Biafra, ils soutiennent maintenant sans aucun scrupule le premier ministre Nimeiri au Soudan pour faire écraser les rebelles noirs dans le sud.

Le problème consiste simplement à «faire faire le travail aussi discrètement que possible». La publicité dont la guerre civile commence à être entourée maintenant ne plaît pas particulièrement à Khartoum.

On sait que la question a été discutée au parlement norvégien lors du dernier débat sur les affaires étrangères, mais le ministre des Affaires étrangères Stray a déclaré «qu'il serait incorrect de présenter à dessein la situation sous un jour plus mauvais qu'il ne ressort d'une information étayée et obtenue de sources nombreuses.»

Nous demandons de nouveau: Quelles sont les sources du ministère des Affaires étrangères? Où sont-ils allés obtenir cette «information étayée»? Il est important qu'on le sache dès maintenant — car les déclarations d'un grand nombre d'organes de presse, de journalistes et d'agences de nouvelles, reconnus sur le plan international, sont diamétralement opposées à ce que maintiennent les porte-parole du ministère norvégien des Affaires étrangères.

Cet article montre que les Soviétiques, qui incitent leurs états-clients à protester à hauts cris contre le soi-disant militarisme de l'Ouest et qui montent en épingle le racisme sud-africain, poursuivent tranquillement de leur côté une politique de génocide.

Cela n'a rien de surprenant. A l'époque de Staline, des races tout entières furent arrachées à leur terre ancestrale et envoyées périr en exil.

Des races peu nombreuses, tels les Tchetchènes Ingouches, ont été complètement détruites. Des groupements ethniques plus grands tels que les Tatars de Crimée, ont été exilés, mais il leur est permis de revenir maintenant qu'ils sont réhabilités et qu'il a été prouvé que les accusations portées contre eux étaient totalement fausses.

Il y a quelque chose d'intensément odieux lorsque des êtres aux mains ensanglantées cherchent à prêcher la paix dans le monde — et c'est exactement ce que les Russes sont en train de faire.

Approved For Release 1999/09/02 : CIA-RDP79-01194A000300070001-6

# WITH APACHE ON THE LEFT BANK ARABS USE SOVIET ARMS TO MASSACRE NEGROES

**W**hile the whole world is in an uproar over Britain selling arms to South Africa which might be used against Africans, not a whimper of protest is heard about the Soviet arms that are not only being used to kill the Sudanese, but have been used against them for several years past.

South African apartheid is a blot on civilisation which no decent man will uphold, but it is appalling that those who condemn White racism suddenly go blind, deaf and dumb when dealing with other versions of the same disease.

If it is criminal for South African Whites to turn guns on South African Blacks, it is equally abhorrent for the Arab minority in the Sudan to turn its guns on the African majority that inhabits the southern regions of that country.

The arms that Britain plans to provide South Africa in return for facilities at the Simonstown base are being given for purely strategic reasons that Britain considers essential to its security. The Third World, used to looking at everything with blinkers on, refuses to see the necessity for the Western nations to have a base in the Indian Ocean at all but does not mind in the least if Russian vessels virtually take over the area.

Mr Swaran Singh at Singapore, when faced point blank with evidence of Soviet naval base all round the Indian Ocean perimeter, flew in the face of facts by claiming there were no bases at all.

He went on to argue that there was a vast difference between "facilities" given to the Soviets and the communication base that Britain and America intend to establish in Diego Garcia.

When specifically confronted with the naval base of Socotra, recently given to the Soviets by the Republic of Yemen, Swaran Singh retorted that no such base existed — because the Soviets had denied it and South Yemen had replied to his queries in the negative!

Swaran Singh must be singularly naive to take such assertions at face value. No country is going

to blazon such deals to the world.

## OPEN GENOCIDE

As for the war in Sudan, which for the past few years has been coming close to outright genocide, this is not hypothetical butchery in some distant future, but something that is taking place right now, with non-aligned nations conveniently looking the other way because it suits their interests.

That the murder of Negroes in the Sudan has been ignored does not make it any the less dreadful. The details of this one-sided conflict have been recorded in all their gory detail on several occasions, but the same "liberals" whose tearduc's are so sorely affected by Vietnam don't seem to give a damn.

One particularly vivid pictorial account of this one-sided conflict was given over Norwegian television. An equally harrowing tale is told in "Sudan — An African Tragedy" by Per Yvind Heradstveit. The authors of these accounts bluntly called what was going on in the Sudan "murder of a nation," but the Norwegian Foreign Ministry, with customary diplomatic down-playing, put on its rose-tinted spectacles and announced that these accounts were exaggerated and that the situation in South Sudan was improving.

In order to clear up who was right and who was wrong, the reputed journal *Aftenposten* decided to check Heradstveit's findings and to quiz him in an interview.

The following are extracts from the article by *Aftenposten*'s Audun Tjomsland:

**T**he controversy over television reporter Per Yvind Heradstveit's claims about the war in the Sudan will undoubtedly flare up again when his book about the Sudan is published in the near future.

Here he repeats claims denied by the Norwegian Ministry for Foreign Affairs and, among other things, uses the phrase "murder of a nation". Regardless of who comes closest to the truth, Heradstveit has done a great deal to bring this "forgotten war" into the light.

Heradstveit made a trip last summer that lasted for about a month, travelling both in North and South Sudan.

## INESCAPABLE REALITY

In his TV programmes Heradstveit drew a number of far-reaching conclusions. Among other things he used the expression "murder of a nation" to describe the Arab rulers' actions against the Negro population in the South.

When this conclusion was rejected by Foreign Minister Sverre Strøm, the TV reporter said: "I do not want this to be a conflict over words. The essential factor is that we must open our eyes to what is happening in the Sudan, whatever we choose to call it."

Genocide is usually defined as the killing of members of a group of people with the aim of completely or partially annihilating national, ethnic, racial or religious groups — and this is the word ("folkemord" in Norwegian) that Heradstveit used.

Heradstveit in his book has put aside his professional mask of neutrality and objectivity. And he does not try to conceal this fact. After having been led to the remains of a church in the country town of Banja, where 28 people were murdered, Heradstveit wrote:

"I heard about Arab massacres in the Sudan. I had taken these reports with a grain of salt. Now I saw it for myself."

It has later been confirmed by other sources that the massacre in Banja took place under conditions exactly as described to the Norwegian TV team at the actual site.

The world found out about it because two reporters accidentally arrived on the scene just afterwards. No one knows how many

Approved For Release 1999/09/02 : CIA-RDP79-01194A000300070001-6

Heradstveit says.

Since Heradstveit and Stabrun (his TV colleague) entered previously closed areas in South Sudan, in June 1970, new reports on the Arabs' oppression of the Negroid population in the South have been made.

Among others, Bishop Lino Tiboi, in a letter to the two television reporters from Aba in the Congo, has written that Arab soldiers attacked a village and killed at least five people, while the rest of the inhabitants fled into the forests.

In the London Times there is a report of another occasion when six people were killed.

#### NORWEGIAN FEELING

What does the Norwegian Government feel?

"We do not deny that the situation is serious, we do not doubt that there are acts of oppression by both sides, and we do not, of course, doubt the TV team's pictures at all," says Department Head Tim Greve, of the Foreign Ministry, to *Aftenposten*. "But we have made our investigations during the course of a year prior to Heradstveit's and Stabrun's coming to the Sudan, and we believe we are able to prove our statements that the conclusions are exaggerated."

However, he cannot reveal what sources the Foreign Ministry bases its claims on.

On the opposite side, Heradstveit claims: "I cannot say anything besides the fact that we have been in South Sudan, have seen the charred remains of bones and smelled the corpses, and have been with people who have been subjected to Arab violence. And I am not willing to back down an inch."

He also adds that the information he was given in Khartoum agreed completely with what his critics said but which, according to him, does not present the true picture at all.

Heradstveit quotes a captain named "Michael" from the Anya-Nya (the South Sudan rebel movement) on the situation. "They (the Arabs) do not want us Negroes in the Sudan", Michael says. "They want to wipe us out. They want the land, the fields, the pastures. They want to control the Nile. They do not want us in a united Sudan. They will wipe us out."

"At this moment hundreds of people are dying of undernourishment in the bush. They have never seen a doctor, they have never had enough to eat. If this is not murder of a people, I cannot understand what you can call it."

the world keeps quiet and accepts what is happening."

As a summary of the factors behind the conflict, Heradstveit writes the following in his book:

"Racial conflicts there have always been between the Arabs in the North and the Negroes in the South. As an overshadowing, dominant fact is the Arabs' feeling that the people in the South are like helpless children at another phase of historical development, and that they are not 'mature' enough to rule themselves or to have any influence on the central government."

#### EQUALLY RACIST

"In many ways we recognise the pattern from the thought-processes among the Whites in Rhodesia and South Africa. It is tragic that the African people in many ways are not 'better' than the worst of the White racists. And the most tragic fact of all, perhaps, is that the Arabs themselves are not conscious of this condition."

According to Heradstveit this is the starting point for a war that has been discussed very little and which has been described as "the forgotten war."

The new regime which came into power during the summer of 1969 has recognised the relationship with the population in the South as Sudan's greatest problem and has formally given the southern provinces regional self-government.

The new President, Gaafar Nimeiri, has declared that the following four measures will be put into effect:

The law of amnesty would be expanded. Southern Sudan would be developed socially and culturally, with emphasis on economic progress. A Minister for Southern affairs would be appointed. Education of the Southern Sudanese for various sectors within the administration would be started.

Heradstveit says in his book that Nimeiri's Government has shown a willingness to improve the situation. But he concludes by saying that not much has been done. The people are no longer satisfied with words. They want to see action, and there has been no action.

Norwegian television's findings are fully corroborated by Oslo's leading daily *Morgenbladet*. On December 3, it carried an article by Gunnar Moe, not only indicating genocide against South Sudanese, but charging the Russians with providing the weapons that the Arab Government in Khartoum was using against the Negro population of the South. The fol-

lowing is taken from Moe's report in *Morgenbladet*:

The civil war in South Sudan is entering a new and more serious phase. The Khartoum Government has begun an intensive offensive with bombers, helicopters, napalm and motorised infantry to crush "once and for all" the rebel organisation Anya-Nya.

This great offensive, which is directed by Soviet "advisers", was begun in the middle of September last year according to several sources.

Russian bombers in great sweeps systematically bomb the jungle where rebels are hiding. They use both napalm and ordinary bombs. After that, Arabs come with tanks, infantry, parachute troops and helicopters. The jungle is "thoroughly combed". Behind all this, the Russian military advisers then follow.

Aircraft used are Russian MiG-21 and Antonov bombers, as well as MI-8 helicopters. The *Daily Telegraph* reported on 17 October, 1970 that an additional 27 Russian bombers had arrived at Khartoum airport for delivery to the Sudanese Air Force. For two and a half months, the offensive went on, while the world is little informed about the blood bath.

Khartoum no longer attempts to conceal that a battle is being waged in the south. On 9 November, 1970, Defence Minister General Khaled Hassan Abbas held a press conference in which he said that the Government forces had captured four rebel bases and two landing strips for aircraft, which the rebels used to move in arms, medicine and food. Large quantities of military equipment, anti-aircraft guns, mines, mortar and automatic rifles were also seized, said Abbas.

Reports about this were carried in, among others, the French newspaper *Le Monde*. The *British Evening Standard* also reported that "about 60 Soviet-equipped and to a great extent also Soviet-manned MiG-21 jet aircraft now are stationed at the town of Juba", the capital of the southern province, Equatoria.

The Sudanese Minister for South Sudan, Joseph Garang, recently confirmed that a constant escalation of the war is taking place in the three southern provinces and recommended that greater military pressure must be exerted from Khartoum.

The active presence of the Soviets in Sudan is not accidental. The Russians hope to secure for themselves a solid military and political foothold in the country. In the same way as they supported the central government in



Nigeria during the conflict with Biafra, they now have no scruples about helping Prime Minister Nimeiry in Sudan to crush the Negro rebels in the south.

The problem is only to get "the job done as discreetly as possible". The publicity which now begins to follow in the tracks of the civil war, does not particularly please Khartoum.

As is known, the matter was taken up in the last debate on foreign affairs in the Norwegian Parliament, but Foreign Minister Stray answered that it "would not be correct to deliberately portray the situation as being worse than it is according to the factual in-

formation which is obtained from a number of sources."

We ask again: What are the sources of the Foreign Ministry? Where have they been in order to obtain "factual information?" It is important to know this now — since a long line of internationally recognised press organs, journalists and news bureaux claim the exact opposite of that which the Norwegian Foreign Ministry sources maintain.

From this article one can see that the Soviets while they keep prodding their client states to raise a howl against the supposed militarism of the West, and who keep South African racialism to

the forefront, quickly jettison racial policies themselves.

This should not be in the least surprising. In Stalin's day whole nations were removed from their ancestral land and sent to perish in exile.

Small races like the Chichen-Ingush were totally wiped out. Larger ethnic groups like the Crimean Tatars were banished, but not allowed back even after they had been rehabilitated on the charges against them being proved to be totally false.

There is something intensely odious about nations with blood on their hands trying to preach peace to the world — and that is exactly what Russia is doing.

WASHINGTON POST  
June 27, 1971

# Sudan's Black Rebellion

By Jim Hoagland

Washington Post Foreign Service

**J**UBA, Sudan—The Nile pauses in its rush from the nearby Uganda highlands toward Egypt's desert plains to curl leisurely around this market town. Towering African tribesmen meet on the river's west bank toward sunset to bathe and swap stories.

Last December, a lone man appeared on the opposite bank as a squad of northern Sudanese troops, returning from a patrol, were being ferried across the river. He raked the boat with submachine gun fire, which killed the boat's pilot, and then escaped into the thick bush.

Africa and Arabia meet within the space of a market square in Juba. As evening's coolness supplants the day's blistering heat, tom-toms vibrate from the thatched huts at one end of town as the haunting wail of Islamic prayers float down from a mosque at the other.

Outside town, the meeting of the two worlds is more violent, according to southerners. A few weeks after the December shooting, Arabic-speaking troops caught an African youth peddling a bicycle along a deserted path. He had already planted half of the dozen land mines he had been given, but the soldiers found the other six on the bicycle. They shot the youth on the spot.

"We give innocent villagers every possible chance to get out," Maj. Gen.

Mobarak Osman Rahama said recently as he handed a visitor a leaflet dropped around guerrilla bases before a raid.

Headed "Last Warning," the mimeographed sheet of paper reads: "We know some of you are helping the outlaws with food, shelter, medicine and information—willingly or unwillingly. Come back . . . you are safe under the amnesty." "We are not here for killing," insisted General Osman, who is given much credit by civilians here for curbing the brutal excesses allowed by past northern commanders. "We are here to gain the hearts of the people. The military aspects of this are not the important ones."

A few weeks before Osman made this assertion, southern guerrillas blew up a key railway bridge that linked the towns of Wau and Malakal. Two days after the general's statement, three Russian military advisers arrived in Juba to work on the helicopters and jet aircraft the Soviet Union supplies to the Sudan for this war.

## An Old Conflict

**T**HESE ARE THE conflicting images and words of the guerrilla war that has ravaged the southern Sudan for more than a decade. Nobody knows how many people have died in the rebellion. Seemingly reliable estimates range into the hundreds of thou-

sands. The sporadic fighting has also driven about 200,000 southerners into exile, scattering them into neighboring countries that could give them refuge, a patch of land to farm and little else.

It is a tangled, bitter war. Primarily a political battle of a minority attempting to secede from Africa's most extensive country, it has important overtones of religious and racial conflict as well.

The several thousand poorly-armed guerrillas are tropical Africans, their rich ebony hues among the darkest in Africa, their foreheads marked with tribal scars. Most of them worship traditional religions, but some are Christians. They inhabit one of the most underdeveloped, primitive regions in Africa and, until recently, their people have been largely ignored by governments in the distant capital of Khartoum. They want to break the Texas-sized southern Sudan away from the rest of the country. They want to oust Gen. Osman's 20,000-man army, composed almost entirely of Arabic-speaking, brown-skinned Moslems of the northern Sudan.

A wall of distrust, fear and hatred divides the north and south Sudan, and their dissimilar peoples. Only the Nile, a troubled history centering on slavery and British colonial rule, and Africa's drive for national unity tie them together.

The south covers about one-third of the Sudan's almost one million square-mile territory in northeast Africa, just across the Red Sea from Saudi Arabia. The four million people who live in the south's lush green forests and swamp areas are mostly Nilotic tribesmen, proud warriors and cattle herders who have resisted all efforts to change their culture, whether the attempts have come from the British or the brown-skinned northerners the southerners call "Arabs."

It is somewhat misleading to call the 1 million northerners Arabs, despite their obvious linguistic and cultural ties to the Arab world. Their dark brown coloration and unique customs testify to the transformations that centuries of mixing with more indigenous people have produced on the waves of Arabs who arrived here a thousand years ago.

Much of the mixing stemmed from the slave trade, which brought great caravans of Africans north, and then east to Arabia. Slaving intensified as Turkish and then Egyptian invasions conquered the Nile Valley.

The British established themselves in the Sudan at the end of the last century. They effectively split the country. In the north, they ruled indirectly through local Moslem chiefs, and never attempted to challenge the hold Islam and the Arabic language exerted on the people. The south, however, was ruled just as neighboring Kenya and Uganda were, by British administrative officers. Christian missionaries were encouraged and English was the lingua franca. Merchants and others from the north were for the most part banned from entering the south.

In the 1950's as independence approached, this policy was abandoned, and it soon became clear that the better educated, more advanced northerners would completely dominate the government, army, police and the country's business life. For the handful of educated southerners the mission schools had produced, another fact became clear—Arabic would replace English as the language of the south, and one of their main qualifications for leadership would vanish.

Southerners grew increasingly resentful as northern civil servants, merchants and army officers poured into the south. In July, 1955, the resent-

ment exploded into violence. Several hundred southern troops, enraged by stories of northern brutality in the south, mutinied. They killed more than 200 northerners, mostly civilians, before the mutiny was quelled by reinforcements from the north.

Many of the rebellious soldiers escaped into the bush, and the guerrilla struggle had begun. It did not reach a significant level, however, until 1965, when northern troops swept through Juba and other southern towns, slaughtering hundreds of southerners.

The cause of the massacres is disputed, but a new government had taken over in Khartoum and could apparently do little to curb the vengeful army. The effect was immediately clear. All schools in the south were destroyed and southerners fled into the harsh bush or across the border to escape the army's wrath. Juba, a town of 20,000 people, shrank overnight to 5,000.

This occurred in the same year that the government had ordered southern schools to teach in Arabic instead of English, and a year after the last foreign missionaries were ordered out of the south. Both moves were deeply resented in the south.

A curtain dropped over the region. The few visitors allowed inside before 1970 gave accounts suggesting a dark and bloody occupation by the northern army. Educated southerners in exile set up half a dozen political movements that spent more time arguing about leadership than in promoting the southern cause. But slowly, a rag-tag army of guerrillas was formed from the bitter new southern refugees.

### Turning on the Heat

THE FIGHTING IN the south has emptied the Sudan's modest treasury and was a major factor in the downfall of the country's first three governments. A military takeover produced a new regime two years ago, and a new, perhaps crucial phase in the conflict began.

"This government made it clear that it wasn't content to live with the situation in the south as past regimes had," said one diplomat. "They set out to resolve it, one way or another."

The changes their offensive has produced are just beginning to become apparent, as the Khartoum government is now allowing some journalists, diplomats and foreign churchmen into the area.

The new leftist government, headed by Maj. Gen. Jaafar Nimeri, immediately increased the size of the army,

purchased sophisticated new war equipment and greatly stepped up the raids against the rebels.

At the same time, they moved on the political front. They held out hope to cooperative southerners of amnesty, self-government and a better economic deal. And they sought better relations with neighboring African countries that had been giving sanctuary to the guerrillas.

Progress can be seen in their diplomacy. Neighboring Ethiopia and Chad signed agreements recently to control insurgent infiltration across their border with the Sudan. Uganda, however, continues to allow the rebels to use its territory.

The other efforts have not produced conclusive results. Military gains have been made, but much of the countryside remains highly insecure.

Moreover, little seems to have been accomplished that would significantly reduce the social and political conflicts that are the root causes of the war. They may have even grown worse in the past year, some observers feel, and the conflict in the southern Sudan may be slipping toward a much wider and more dangerous war.

Two factors point to this. The initial enthusiasm generated in the south by Nimeri's promises has turned into disappointment. And international involvement in the war has greatly increased, turning the southern Sudan struggle into an extension of the Middle East conflict for the first time.

The outside aid produced a major escalation in the war during the past year. The Soviet Union has sent new shipments of jet fighters, helicopters, armored cars and other counterinsurgency equipment. The Russians also have 200 military advisers inside the Sudan. Their role is disputed, with southern exiles charging that Russian pilots have flown combat missions for the northerners. Sudanese officials deny this, but Russians are known to have flown helicopters ferrying visiting foreigners around.

Three white men, who gave their nationality as Russian and their local contact as "Sudan Air Force" in the registry of Juba's only hotel, arrived on the third day of this correspondent's recent stay in Juba. The following day was the first time the Mig 21 fighter that was parked on the airport runway had been flown during my visit, and at least one of the Russians was visible working on a helicopter at the airport later that day.

Egyptian advisers and pilots are also working with Sudanese air and ground units that serve in the south.

## Gains for the Rebels

THE RATE AND growing sophistication of rebel attacks indicate they are getting more and better equipment as well. One white mercenary who was training southerners has been captured, and official Sudanese sources say that another was killed in action.

"The dissidents are being helped by Israel, through training and supply of arms," President Nimeri charged during a recent interview in Khartoum. Added Gen. Osman in Juba: "Israel is giving the outlaws more help now so we will not be able to pull our weight on the main front" in the Middle East.

Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban flatly denied these charges last month during a press conference in Nairobi. But independent reports persist that Israel is in fact lending low-level support to the southern rebels.

Gen. Osman has set up an Anya' Nya museum in one wing of his headquarters building at Juba. Anya' Nya, the name of a deadly poison southern tribesmen make by grinding the head of a cobra, is the name the main guerrilla force has chosen for itself.

A young major who showed a visitor around pointed to Russian-made machine guns, mortars and automatic rifles that covered the floor. "The Israeli idea of joking," he said. "They captured these weapons in the 1967 war from the Egyptians. Now they send them back here for the Anya'Nya."

A pile of ivory tusks lay against one wall. "They shoot the elephants for meat and then take the ivory down to Kenya or Uganda to sell for the tourist business," the major explained.

He also pointed out a microscope and large quantities of medical supplies. "We found seven tons of drugs at one base. They were receiving that before," he said. In Khartoum, high officials openly show a deep concern over reports that charitable organizations that provided help for those trapped inside the enclave during the Nigerian civil war are now taking an interest in the southern Sudanese cause.

Despite some obvious political similarities, the southern Sudan is far away from becoming another Biafra. The defeated Biafrans had a trained army of 40,000, a professional government service and control over a large territory. The Anya' Nya has none of

this, and no chance of obtaining it in the foreseeable future.

But they have been growing stronger, according to Gen. Osman, commander of the government troops in the south. He said that his forces had launched a series of strikes against the rebels over the past few months because "they had become an established presence in some places. They had very big camps, and one even had an airstrip. They were telling the people they were the government, they were taking taxes and had an administration and prisons. We couldn't let that continue."

The raids, in which 500 rebels were killed, have broken the Anya' Nya organization, Osman claimed. But the general would not let this reporter test his assertion. Repeated requests to travel with the military outside Juba were ignored.

But enough information surfaces here and in Khartoum to suggest that the escalation has not broken the dreary stalemate that such jungle wars invariably produce. As long as the Anya' Nya continues to be allowed to operate from neighboring territory and receives outside aid, the northerners will not be able to pacify the countryside even though they have sent three-fourths of their army here.

The guerrillas operate in all three southern provinces, but the province around Juba, called Equatoria, has been the scene of most of the guerrilla activity. Merchants, priests and even the recently appointed peace officers, who are supposed to go into the bush to convince southerners that it is safe to return, can travel outside Juba only in armed military convoys. One recent convoy, which traveled less than 100 miles, was mined twice and ambushed once in the trip.

The political struggle is also inconclusive. Many southerners still wonder what Nimeri's pledges in 1969 of regional autonomy, "southernization" of government jobs and economic development priority really mean.

"We may be watching a major chance for a settlement being lost," said a northerner who was a high official in a former government. "This regime made the right promises when it came in. But now disillusionment seems to be setting in among those southerners who were willing to believe a new start was possible."

"I wouldn't have believed they could become any more bitter. But they are."

The bitterness is apparent in casual conversations with southerners. Asked what the government could do to con-

## Problem Prisoner

KHARTOUM—Rolf Steiner, the German-born mercenary jailed here earlier this year, will stand public trial next month, Sudanese officials have announced.

The government had hoped to promote a pan-African show trial of Steiner, who was also involved in aiding rebels in Nigeria and the Congo. But those two countries showed no interest in dragging up their past troubles in a public trial, and told the Sudanese that Steiner is their problem.

The political situation has become more delicate here since Steiner was unveiled as a prisoner at a press conference last January. The Sudanese have taken a more moderate stand toward the West, and Middle East peace prospects seem to have improved.

A show trial, which would undoubtedly involve connecting Steiner to Israel and/or the West, might hamper both these developments. And there is the problem of evidence. Steiner was caught and turned over to the Sudanese by Milton Obote's government in Uganda, which was subsequently toppled.

—JIM HOAGLAND

vince him it sincerely wants to help the south, one replied: "Pull out the Arabs [the army] and make the Anya' Nya the regional army . . . It may be an unreasonable idea, but it is what the people want."

The military regime has not yet worked out a political structure for the entire country, so it may be unrealistic to expect them to install a regional legislature or other governing body in the south at this point. But the problem seems to go deeper than that. For although there is less discussion of it, the northern distrust of the south equals that which southerners hold for northerners.

"They fear that a real regional government for the south would just be used as a stepping-stone for independence," said one Sudanese with good contacts in the government. "Right now, they are probably right."

"Anybody who really speaks for the south is immediately labeled a stooge for Israel," said another Sudanese observer in Khartoum. "In some cases, it may be true, but the government's fear makes reasonable discussions with anybody but token southerners impossible."

An independent south is not economically viable, in the opinion of many observers. It would have to align itself with a neighboring African country, or depend heavily on foreign support. Many northerners seem convinced this would present them with a major security problem.

The continuing mistrust can be seen in small as well as large things. Juba's only secondary school for boys was moved to Khartoum after the 1965 outbreak. It remains there because "we are afraid the young boys might come back and run off with Anya' Nya," a northern official conceded after long discussion.

Northern soldiers sit at the back of Juba's only movie house during performances, holding automatic rifles on their laps. Before the movie begins, they move through the crowd, looking closely at the young men gathered there.

The government created a Ministry of Southern Affairs, but its executive powers remain unclear. The appointment of an unpopular southern political figure to head it seems to have greatly lessened its impact in the south.

"Nobody knows if the government is sincere on its pledges for economic development," said an observer. "They don't have any money to put into them."

"The whole country is poor and undeveloped," said one government official. "The needs of the east and the west are just as critical as the south. Nobody articulates them, though."

But the government seems to have intensified those problems in the south by raising expectations that it is now finding difficult to satisfy. Attempts to revive economic life in the south have largely gone awry.

A sawmill was to be set up in Wau. The Soviet Union diverted machinery for it from Syria but then found that it wouldn't work on the local power supply. The machinery still sits in packing cases in Wau.

A fruit and vegetable canning plant, also set up with Soviet aid in Wau, is almost idle. The wells on a 1,200-acre estate that was supposed to supply tomatoes and mangos for processing failed, putting the estate out of business. There is little transportation to bring produce into the plant, and what there is often is hampered by Anya' Nya attacks.

An ambitious and well-planned \$1.5 million scheme to resettle the semi-nomadic Dinka tribesmen on a large agricultural estate, where their enormous

herds of cattle could be marketed, has attracted only 50 families in a year. The Dinkas don't want to sell their cattle, or settle down.

On a trip to Wau, Nimeri promised to build a bridge across the Nile for the town. It has not been built, and southerners are increasingly bitter about it.

### Poverty and Distrust

**E**LSEWHERE, the economic problems are even more basic. Thousands of refugees have been pouring into Juba over the past few months, partly in response to the government's promises of amnesty and work and partly because the escalation in the fighting has made it impossible to live in the bush.

They are being given emergency relief food by a United Nations agency. But there are clearly no prospects for work for them in Juba, and no chance to return to the countryside farms as the struggle continues. Juba's population has swollen to 70,000, but economically it remains a village.

The government's third program, "southernization," has made more progress. On a dusty parade field outside Juba recently, 400 southern recruits marched to the cadence of northern police NCOs who trained them to join Equatoria province's police force.

More southerners are sent to the Sudan's police and military academies to become officers. And the northern officials who run things in the south can increasingly point to southern assistants who, they imply, may even take over some day.

But skepticism persists among southerners, many of whom feel that most of this is window-dressing. This feeling is reflected even in the comments of some of the southern officials in the administration.

Southerners say that all the shops in Juba's crowded market streets are owned and usually operated by northerners. The statement seems to be not far from the mark. Two years of southernization has not much affected commerce.

"It is not true that we are colonizers," Commissioner Mohammed Ibrahim, Equatoria's chief civilian official, said spontaneously and defensively to a visitor. "We don't come here to own land, or to stay. The traders come a few years for business, and the rest of us come to help the people."

"Anyway, there are as many southerners in the north. The commissioner of Khartoum is a southerner. If all the southerners were brought here, they could fill up the top positions."

One southerner now living in the north was recently offered a good government job in the south. He turned it down, telling a friend, "The northerners wouldn't trust me down there. The southerners would probably try to kill me as a traitor. The country has torn itself to pieces, and it will be a long time before we can put it together again."

DAILY NATION  
June 16, 1971

# Sudan—could this be Russia's Vietnam?

CPYRGHT

## AFRICA TODAY

FOR the first time in Soviet history Russians are fighting and bombing Africans. In the past six months, according to US intelligence sources in Washington, 100 to 200 Russian Army advisers have been directly planning and participating in the counter-guerrilla operations of the Arab-led Sudan Army against the Africans of southern Sudan.

A larger group of Russians, 300 or more, have piloted and serviced Russian-built helicopters and bombers supporting combat operations in the south, according to American intelligence specialists.

Up to 1,000 Russian military men are estimated to be supporting the Sudan Army, counting Soviet Army advisers, pilots, ground-crew and missile technicians, several hundred of whom are believed to move into the south regularly.

In the north, at Port Sudan on the Red Sea, the Russians are building a naval base and installing SAM-2 anti-aircraft missiles to defend the area. The missiles were presumably detected by US electronic surveillance, since Air Force sources state that the presence of the Russian missiles at Port Sudan is a certainty.

### Motive

The Soviet motive is believed in Washington to be two-fold: first, to establish a strongly-defended base for Soviet naval power to be projected into the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, and second, to bottle up the Israelis in the Red Sea area.

The Russians are thought to want to influence Africa, continue to dominate the Arab world and leapfrog beyond the Mediterranean and the NATO system. But first the Russians must secure their base in Sudan, according to this analysis, by helping the Sudan Army to crush the southern guerrillas.

The Russians are the principal backers of the Army regime of General Gaafar El Numeiry that seized power in May 1969, declaring that it

would bring "Arab Socialism" to Sudan.

The Numeiry Government has expanded the fighting in the south against the Anya-Nya guerrillas, who are the military wing of the African movement in the south. United Nations estimates place the number of civilian casualties of this nine-year-old war at over 50,000.

The southerners have demanded full regional autonomy, meaning control by southerners of the Army, police, civil service, schools and economy in the south, as well as freedom to practise Christianity and speak English as opposed to the north's Islamic culture and insistence on the unitary application of Arabic throughout Sudan.

The south's six million Africans are also hoping to develop an underground black-power coalition with the three million non-Arab blacks in northern Sudan. This grouping is actually a numerical majority, nine million of Sudan's 15 million population, but has little power. Sudan's institutions are dominated by the six million northern Arabs.

The Sudan's Red Army advisers are based at Juba, the largest southern town, numbering 65,000. Besides its mud and wattle huts Juba also has an airfield long enough to handle Soviet MiG jet aircraft. From the airport Russian officers have accompanied Sudan Army units into combat in the last five months. These units have been transported in Russian MI-18 helicopter gunships with rockets, flown by Russian pilots.

When Western journalists have been taken aboard for guided tours of Sudan Army posts, the crews have been composed of Sudanese, Russians, and Egyptians. Nevertheless, Washington specialists are convinced that in combat the

helicopters are flown only by Russians because the Sudanese have no experienced helicopter pilots.

A German correspondent, Rudolf Chimelli, flew in an MI-18 helicopter gunship from Juba to Meridi in South Sudan. He wrote in *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* in January: "The helicopter crew consisted of a Sudanese airforce officer as nominal captain, a Soviet co-pilot in blue overalls who directed the flight, a Soviet navigator, an Egyptian navigator and two soldiers armed with heavy automatic rifles."

Chimelli reported that "helicopters flown by Russians played a decisive role in a battle by a Sudanese brigade that lasted 25 days". In Juba, the commanding officer of this brigade described the Soviet helicopters as "the only means the Army has for carrying out such an operation". He acknowledged that the Sudan Army has become dependent on helicopters because in all of the south's 350,000 square miles there are only a few dirty roads.

The battle described to Chimelli occurred at Morta, an Anya-Nya base near the Uganda border. According to eyewitnesses who reached Uganda in December, the Russian helicopters were used repeatedly to rocket the Anya-Nya and to bring soldiers and supplies to the Sudanese Army units. The bombings caused an estimated 1,000 casualties, mostly in surrounding villages.

Other Soviet bombings in Southern Sudan since October, according to US defence specialists, have been carried out by five Antonov-24 aircraft converted to military use by adding air-to-ground rockets, and by some of the 12 Russian TU-16 medium bombers in Sudan.

About 35,000 southerners were reportedly made homeless by recent fighting and bombing around Bor in Upper Nile. A 45-bed Government hospital in the bush at Magwi

US defence analysts believe that the Russians will not extract themselves easily from this war. They assert that the southern Sudan is too large to be controlled effectively by the 35,000 Sudan Army. Though the scale of Russian activity in Sudan is relatively small compared with the pre-war role in Indo-China, it is being compared in Washington with the beginnings of the US intervention in support of South Vietnam in 1960-61.

US intervention in support of South Vietnam in 1960-61.

US intervention in support of South Vietnam in 1960-61.

US intervention in support of South Vietnam in 1960-61.

# **WORLD PRESS SPOTLIGHTS SUDAN'S "HIDDEN WAR"**

**A**FRICANS FOR  
**E**NDING  
**G**ENOCIDE  
**I**N  
**S**UDAN

CURRENT HISTORY  
March 1970

*"The high hopes that accompanied the attainment of independence have, in Northeast Africa as in other parts of the continent, become attenuated as a result of subsequent differences." In actuality, "a gigantic political fracture zone is developing on the African continent. . . ."*

## Storm Clouds Over the African Horn

CPYRGHT

By KERRI IRVINE

Associate Editor, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*

The Arab-Israeli war of June, 1967, was too brief to have direct military consequences in the Horn of Africa, even although the Sudan declared war on Israel and sent Sudanese troops to the U.A.R. (Sudanese troops were also moved to the Ethiopian frontier for a time). Somalia, being engaged in an election campaign that summer, did not become involved, but demonstrated sympathy for the Arab cause. The long-term effects of the war, however, are considerable. There appears to be a tendency among some African Islamic governments—shared by some factions in the Sudan and Somalia—to compensate for the frustrations experienced by the Arab cause in the Middle East by adopting a more militant stance towards potential adversaries in Africa itself. Thus Soviet arms sent to the Sudan for the fight against Israel are likely to be used, instead, against the southern secessionist movement, just as arms sent to Libya—with whose new regime the Sudan and the U.A.R. recently concluded a pact of cooperation—are liable to find their way south to support the rebels against President François Tombalbaye's government in Chad.

The rising level of tension in the Middle East has also done much to heal the old rift between the Sudanese and Egyptian governments, to activate latent suspicions of Western governments, and to overcome religious reservations concerning relations with the Soviet Union. In this last connection, the fact that the Sudan has the largest Communist party in Africa has also had some effect upon the situation, even although the allegiance of Sudanese Communists is demonstrably given first to their own country, and not to Moscow.

The secessionist movement in the southern

Sudan, which has continued intermittently since 1956, reaching the proportions of a full-scale armed revolt in 1963, has deep roots, based on cultural and religious differences between the Christian or animist populations of the south and the Arab government in Khartoum. According to the Khartoum government, the original outbreak of violence in the south in 1956—which resulted in the massacre of whole cadres of badly-needed civil servants, carefully trained in the years before independence—was engineered by Belgian agencies, who were at that time fearful of the effect of the nationalism of an independent Sudan upon the internal situation in the Belgian Congo. Whether true or not, by 1963 the Sudanese dissidents were obtaining support from the Congo (Kinshasa), as well as from Sudanese refugees who had established themselves in other nearby African states, such as Uganda. Since then various efforts to resolve the conflict—among the most notable of which was a conference held in Khartoum itself in 1965—have all failed, even though the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.), whose seat is located at Addis Ababa in neighboring Ethiopia, has exerted itself to achieve reconciliation.<sup>5</sup>

One step towards reconciliation nevertheless appears to have occurred recently when the Khartoum government apparently dropped its program of "forced Islamization" in the south—a program that had aroused the most bitter opposition. The Khartoum government, meanwhile, has proposed a settle-

<sup>5</sup> Efforts to induce the Pope to show public interest in the plight of Christians in the southern Sudan—made by Sudanese refugees in Uganda at the time of the recent visit of His Holiness to Kampala—were, at least publicly, unrewarded.

CPYRGHT

ment based upon the formula of local autonomy for the Sudan's southern provinces. The situation has developed so far, however, that only a solution upheld by the governments of East Africa and of the Democratic Republic of the Congo—all of which are acting as hosts to Sudanese refugees—would prove viable.

The southern Sudanese are themselves divided into various factions. One of these factions, the Azanya Liberation Front, is willing to accept Khartoum's promise of local autonomy, whereas another—the Nile Provisional Government, formed in March, 1969, under the leadership of Gordon Muertat Mayen—is not, insisting upon a separate sovereign identity for the southern Sudan. Yet another faction, the Anyidi Revolutionary Government, which is supported by the *Anyanya*, the military wing of the secessionist movement, also insists upon a separate national identity.

Such confusion within the Sudan is harmful in several ways. First, it diverts to military ends economic resources that are desperately needed for national policies that would promote health, education and commercial development, and so help restore stability and prosperity. Second, it creates a small cyclone of violence that grows by what it feeds on, threatening to draw neighboring states into its vortex, and eventually to merge with that other cyclone already blowing up a storm in the Middle East. Third, it invites states from outside the region to risk pursuing their interests in the area by adventurous means, thus, in turn, tempting others to resort to adventurism, at the expense of the civilian populations of Northeast Africa. Cool heads are needed to help to compose a scenario for the future which does not bear any resemblance to the events that generated their own momentum in Southeast Asia.



CHICAGO DAILY NEWS, Saturday-Sunday, April 4-5, 1970

CPYRGHT

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By Georgie Anne Geyer

## Did you know there's a war in Sudan?

When ~~franc~~ acknowledged earlier this year that, yes, it had lost half a million men in South Vietnam, the world was shocked. Probably that many men have died in the south of Sudan, but there aren't enough people who know about it to be shocked.

PART OF IT is that this "little war" has taken place in one of the most remote areas of the world. Here, the huge and marshy Sudd, an area as large as England and nearly as impassable as the legendary Sargasso Sea, meets undulating bush country where men can lose themselves for years.

A larger part of it is simply that an internal fight in an obscure African country, offering no real threat to anybody else, also interests no one else.

Today the situation is somewhat quieter than it has been for years. The military officers who took over the country last May immediately offered a "solution" by which the south would have "regional autonomy" and thus largely rule itself.

BUT ALTHOUGH there is a momentary lull in the fighting, there is little to be really optimistic about — a point that even the new minister for southern affairs, Joseph Garang, admits.

Garang, a southerner, a Communist and a member of a minority tribe, went to neighboring Uganda recently to meet such dissident southern leaders as Joseph Oduho and

CPYRGHT

Aggrey Jaden, seeking their support.

But he admits "they were suspicious and reserved as to whether the promises would really be kept."

And when time is mentioned to the government, it soon becomes clear that "regional autonomy" is a long way off at best.

"First we must have enough economic development to allow them to be independent," Garang says.

Ever since the coup last spring, the new government has been surrounded by rebellions.

There have been six attempts to overthrow it, the last ending in the murder of the imam, El-Hadi Abdel Rahman El-Mahdi, who had headed the Umma Party, the most powerful party before the parties were dissolved.

The destruction of the imam, the descendant of the famous mahdi who killed the British

general (Chinese) Charles Gordon at Khartoum in 1885, is important because it probably marks an end to Islamic politics in Sudan. But the fight in the south remains the most persistent problem.

Waged largely by a movement called Anya Nya, "The Scorpion," this rebellion of black tribesmen against the northern Moslem Arab traders who historically sold them as slaves, began as Sudan was granted independence from Britain in 1956.

The 4 million southern blacks, mostly Christian, were deeply afraid of the 9 million Moslem Arab northerners for now the neutral British no longer stood between them and Islamization.

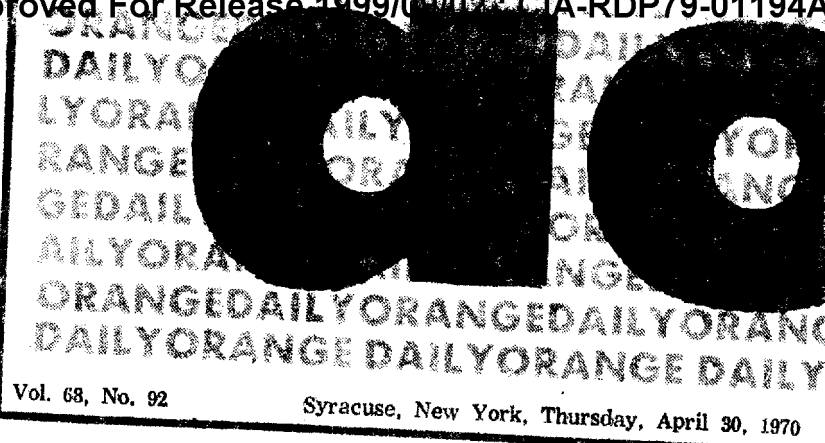
IN 1957 and 1958, the Sudanese government, in a first attempt to Islamize the South, abolished Sunday as a holiday. This led to demonstrations, massacres and, in 1964, the expelling of all foreign missionaries.

In many ways, this was the hardest blow, for the missionaries had offered the only educational system the tribesmen had ever had. In addition, they were the main protection against the northerners for they could garner world opinion.

Today, there are several southern movements, all based in Uganda. Anya Nya is the largest. None has any real ideology except independence. There are some 70,000 southern refugees in Uganda and the Congo and the estimate of half a million dead is accepted by most responsible sources.

The government says the groups are running out of ammunition, much of which came from the Congo and some from Red China, and this is possible.

But it seems unlikely that the rebellion, so long hidden by the five-foot high elephant grass of the savannah and by the indifference of the outer world, is really near solution.



# CPYRGHT African guerillas in southern Sudan battle Arabs in 15-year freedom fight

*Editors Note: Allan Reed, an American journalist, graduated from Berkeley in 1965. He has spent the last three years in Sudan teaching and writing.*

By ALLAN REED

In May 1969, a military coup in Khartoum brought a new government to the Sudan. The Sudan has been plagued by instability since independence at the beginning of 1956, much of it caused by the long, drawn-out war between the Africans in the Southern Sudan and the Arabs in the Northern Sudan who claim to be the government of the entire nation.

The Revolutionary Command Council in Khartoum quickly admitted that a problem between North and South, between Arabs and Africans, did exist. However, they announced that they would solve the problem by granting "regional autonomy" to the Southern Sudan, promoting development in that undeveloped area, and stopping the attacks by the Arab Army against African villagers, thereby promoting security throughout the Southern Sudan and taking the thrust for independence away from the Anya-Nya, the African guerrilla army that is fighting the war of liberation for a separate African state.

In spite of the promises of the May 25 coup, a half-year later refugees continued to pour out of the Southern Sudan into neighboring countries, bringing with them unchanging stories of terror and atrocities still being committed in their land: villages still being razed by the Arabs,

wells poisoned, mass murders in villages the Arabs pass through, epidemics because of a total lack of medical facilities, and other incidents.

Obviously, there were two different stories coming out of the Sudan: one, which the Arab government in Khartoum issues for international consumption while they seal off the Southern Sudan from probing eyes, and the other, from the Africans who survive the brutal realities of life in the Southern Sudan.

Last October I went into the Southern Sudan, unknown to the Arab government, in order to see what was happening. I spent three months walking throughout Upper Nile Province with an escort of seventy soldiers from the

The government in Khartoum claims to have control over the Southern Sudan. What I saw during my three months journey, however, indicates that while the Arab Army may occupy the three provincial capital towns of Juba, Wau, and Malakal, a few other towns with airstrips to supply their soldiers garrisoned in such outposts, and some of the larger river courses, the majority of the land and people in the Southern Sudan are not under Arab control.

The allegiance of the people lies with the Nile Provisional Government, made up entirely of Southern Sudanese Africans and not recognized by the Khartoum Arab government, and with the military wing of the movement, the Anya-Nya Freedom Fighters.

CPYRGHT

provincial Headquarters of upper Nile Province, 82 men and boys were rounded up and shot in cold blood.

July 8, 1965: At Juba over 1,800 civilians were massacred in 10 days. Most of these were High Civil Servants, students, women and children.

July 11, 1965: At Wau 76 civil servants were shot during a wedding party, and 265 civilians the day after. A veterinary inspector and Victor Bolbol, District Commissioner of Panji were among them.

The policy of the Northern governments has been to try to squash this movement for separation by terrorizing the civilians. The Arab Army in the South is dispirited and avoids clashes with the rebels. Instead, they take reprisals against innocent civilians.

The policy of Arab reprisals, continued and expanded by the present regime in Khartoum, in spite of their denials, has set the Northern government on a course of genocide against the Southern Sudanese Africans.

A few incidents to illustrate the history of genocide in the Southern Sudan

June 1963: Lou Nuer District at Akobo and Kuccher 84 men, children and women were burned alive.

August 1964: At Kodok 67 civil servants and 235 natives were detained, tortured and put to death eventually. This was under the Arab District Commissioner, Saad Ahmad Zaki.

September 1964: At Gogrial 500 Dinka Tribesmen were rounded up and shot in cold blood. In addition, similar massacres also took place in northern Sudan. Two distinct incidents were on June 12, 1964, in Khartoum where 700 Nileans were massacred in one night. Policemen and Arab Civil population with the help of police again attacked the southerners in January 1965.

April 1965: At Waraiok four miles from Malakal the

September 1965: In Rumbek Town several priests and 123 civilians were killed. In all these massacres the Arab Khartoum Government never set up commissions of Inquiry nor set up courts to try those who were responsible.

October 1966: Arab troops machine-gunned 340 tribal dancers at Tali.

January 1967: At Torit 400 natives were rounded up and shot.

February 1967: 73 chiefs were detained and shot at Bor. Paramount Chief "Ajang Duot" included. From February 1967 - February 1968; the Arab Forces of occupation have burned over 4500 villages over the Nile state; crops and property were destroyed and looted, married women and girls raped and men killed. Children were taken off to the northern Sudan. Their whereabouts up to date is not known. But we strongly believe these unfortunate children have met the same fate as their forefathers who were sold in Arab lands. The slave trade is still flourishing in the Arab World.

Our recent census figures in the liberated areas of the Nile Provisional Government obtained from Chiefs and Sub-Chiefs show over 125,000 persons killed by the Arabs from April 1966 to November 1968. The figures of those massacred from 1955 - 1966 show over 890,000 which makes a total of 1,015,000 killed in the Nile State since the beginning of the struggle in 1955.

EAST AFRICA JOURNAL  
June 1970

## A NEW BIAFRA?

# The Scorpion Bites in Sudan's Civil War

CPYRGHT

by

Thomas Land

*Thomas Land is a London-based journalist whose articles appear in Africa, Asia and North America as well as in Britain.*

Major-General Jaafar al-Nimeiry, the Nasserite Sudanese leader who has just rescued his regime from the sixth attempted coup since his own seizure of power a year ago, has accused the United States, Israel and West Germany of a plot to turn the South of his country into a new Biafra.

The three countries, of course, deny this. But somebody may well be aiding the Sudan's black rebels, for their little publicized, 15-year old war for sucession from the Arab North is rapidly taking on the proportion of the Biafra tragedy. Diplomatic and political observers warn that the fighting has suddenly intensified. The flames are fanned by what appear to be both new supplies of sophisticated military hardware acquired by the rebel forces of the Anya-Nya\* and the ineptitude of the Khartoum regime which first declared a general amnesty on Southerners laying down the arms and then had many of those responding to it shot.

If the seeds of the Biafra war had been sown by the men who once administered the British Empire, the same is true for the growing violence in the Southern Sudan. A traditional reservoir of black slaves for the rich markets of Arabia, the South of Sudan today is the largest single source, after war-torn Portuguese Angola, of African refugees. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees more than 70,000 fugitives from three vast Southern provinces of the Sudan are currently being re-settled in Uganda, 52,000 in Burundi,

24,000 in the Congo and 14,000 in Tanzania. In addition, there are thought to be perhaps hundreds of thousands of refugees unregistered. The war, according to various estimates, has cost close to half a million lives.

Sheltered from modern communications by the immense Sudd swamps, the Nuba mountains and remote savannah grasslands, the war in the South Sudanese provinces of Equatoria, Upper Nile and Bahr el-Ghazal ties down the bulk of the country's 30,000-strong, partially Soviet-equipped armed forces. The under-developed, tropical region of 300,000 square miles is populated by three-to-four million, largely Christian and pagan blacks paying recurring tolls in human lives to sweeping attacks by disease epidemics, famine and Northern raiding parties. The countryside, where more than 59 per cent of the native population lives, is well under the control of the Anya-Nya; while the regular army has hitherto held a secure position in the larger towns. However, the situation is rapidly changing in the Anya-Nya's favour.

The Sudan, the largest and culturally the most varied country on the African continent, was ruled by a British-Egyptian Condominium until 1956 when it gained independence. It is now administered by a Revolutionary Council established by a group of young officers who assumed power in a coup last May. The Sudan, whose closest allies are neighbouring Egypt and Lybia, is at war with Israel, severed diplomatic relations with the US after the June War of 1967 and broke its ties with West Germany when it recognized East Germany after last

\* The rebel named after scorpion's poison.

year's coup. Prime Minister al-Nimeiry accused the three countries of plotting the creation of a new Biafra in the South following an unsuccessful personal attempt to reach accommodation with the rebels. He has threatened shortly to publish the evidence.

A country comprising nearly 600 diverse tribes, the Sudan ranges from sandy deserts to sub-tropical forest regions. It extends over an area of 967,500 square miles, populated by only 14 million people, all Islamic by faith and tradition save those in the black South. Khartoum, at the confluence of the White Nile flowing from Lake Victoria and the Blue Nile from Ethiopia, is at the site of a civilization dating back three thousand years which derived its power and wealth from the great rivers. But today, the 14-year old state survives on an annual per capita income of £40, depends on a single-crop economy of cotton, holds no gold reserves and has foreign exchange resources totalling less than £16.5 million. Certainly, it can ill afford to finance the disastrous war in the South.

But it sees no path out of the madness. Reports from Bonn describe fresh initiatives by a group of European humanitarian organisations until recently busy in Biafra who have turned their attention to the growing famine accompanying the fighting in the South of Sudan. Emergency supplies of food, medicine and clothing are being flown to the countries of asylum surrounding the Sudan war zone, which are receiving a new influx of refugees. A proportion of this aid is being brought illegally into the Sudan where starvation is said to be endemic among children and where the death rate is described as the second highest on the continent, only exceeded by Biafra.

The history of violence in the South of Sudan is one of racial conflict in crude terms, repeated in different patterns in the civil wars of neighbouring Chad and Ethiopia. But the conflict in the Sudan is aggravated by grave inconsistencies in Whitehall's policies in preparing the country for independence.

In an attempt to eradicate slave raiding as well as economic and cultural exploitation of the black tribes by the Northerners, the Victorian administrators cordoned off the South of Sudan, creating in effect, a huge

sanctuary shielding its inhabitants from development. This at last created a period of peace and stability. The rigid exclusion of the Northerners from the area was extended after the First World War to bans even on Arab costume and culture. Education was neglected and left completely in the hands of Christian missionaries. Economic development was channeled to the North.

After the Second World War, Britain was confronted with increasing nationalism throughout the Empire, and had neither the economic resources nor the will to resist. Yielding to pressure from the North, Britain abruptly lifted the protective ban on the South of Sudan, and called independence talks at which the black minority was not even represented. The Africans would have liked a loose federation affording them the right to a form of local administration; the Arabs insisted on, and in the end got, a centralized administrative machinery. The national programme of Sudanization preceeding independence led to the appointment of Arab, rather than African, civil servants in the South. They were accompanied by a stream of traders and soldiers from the North into a South utterly unprepared for their arrival. And Britain departed without leaving behind a constitution.

Some months before independence, a mutiny of Southern soldiers in Equatoria and Bahr el-Ghazal provided a final warning. The mutiny was suppressed, but it provided the first elements of open resistance which has since developed into the organised guerilla warfare of the Anya-Nya.

The political leaders of the South, even those voicing their demands for a federal constitution at the Constituent Assembly, were soon imprisoned, killed or forced to seek refuge abroad. The missionaries were summarily expelled. Inter-racial tension erupted in occasional large-scale civilian violence: in one uprising, several hundred Northerners were slaughtered, followed by hundreds of reprisal executions.

In Juba, at least 400 Southerners lost their lives during a single night, recalls a specialist study prepared for the London-based Defence and Air Fund. Southern doctors and medical assistants attending to the wounded at the hospital were shot at and driven out by

Northern troops. In Wau, some 70 Southerners were shot dead while peaceably attending a wedding. At Mundri, the Protestant theological college was attacked and burned. A report from a Southern priest at Maridi describes how by June, 1965, the hospital at the town was closed "for many dressers, medical assistants and nurses had been arrested and killed and the rest escaped from fear... All the Southern merchants and traders in the town were suddenly arrested and killed. I know of only two who escaped death."

Many Southerners unable to cross the international frontiers eke out a precarious, fugitive existence in the swamps and forests. Northern raiding parties pursuing Southern refugees are occasionally reported to wander across the ill-defined borders to neighbouring countries, killing and burning on their way. The heaviest losses to the civilian population in the South are inflicted by the lack of adequate food and medical supplies. Hence the current initiative by such relief organisations as the Swedish Red Cross, the World Council of Churches and the Catholic Mission Relief.

To be effective in the rural areas of the South of Sudan, any organisation must win the cooperation of the Anya-Nya which has for some time prevented the free movement of Northern forces except in heavily armed units. The Anya-Nya supports the government-in-exile demanding nothing less than complete secession from Khartoum. The guerilla army is led by General Tafeng, a 60-year old former officer of the Equatoria Corps who led the 1955 mutiny. The force was formally organised in 1963, on Tafeng's release from prison, armed with machetes, knives, spears, bows and arrows. Today, his men are equipped with automatic weapons and are believed recently to have acquired the aid of foreign military advisors.

That is thought to be the only plausible explanation for the current change of tactics of the Anya-Nya, which has repeatedly engaged major units of the federal forces following years of elusive guerilla warfare. Some 40-50 government troops are reliably reported to have been killed during recent battles in the town of Torit where the mutiny started. Several Northern military camps have also been simul-

taneously attacked. Heavy fighting has been reported in the Juba and Nimule regions.

The hard line taken by the exiled Southern politicians is far removed from their modest demands at home while under British rule. Today, it is Prime Minister al-Nimeiry who seeks a federal administrative machinery under which the three Southern provinces would enjoy autonomy. The Southerners reject charges of secessionism on the grounds that, since they were not party to the Cairo agreement involving Britain, Egypt and the Arab political parties of the Sudan, and providing for the country's joint independence, they are simply not bound by it.

Meanwhile, Major-General al-Nimeiry clearly cannot pay sufficient attention to the rapidly deteriorating situation in the South, despite its crucial importance to his entire country as well as to surrounding regions.

The sixth and reputedly so far the most serious attempted coup within a year which he has just crushed has brought down Imam al-Hadi, al-Mahdi, the influential religious and political leader of the Ansari sect. All political parties are now banned in the Sudan, and the prisons are full of political opponents. Khartoum is likely to see further insurrections in the foreseeable future.

Yet his claim that external forces are fanning the flames in the South of Sudan is not to be dismissed lightly as a search for a scapegoat in a politically sticky situation. The U.S. and West Germany are unlikely to seek to antagonize the Arab World further but the CIA, for one, may see fit secretly to controvert Washington's apparent wishes. Ethiopia (publicly unaccused by Khartoum) is believed lately to have supplied some military hardware to the rebels, if only to keep them away from its own borders shared with the Sudan. And Israel, which is in any case busy promoting political sympathy throughout black Africa, may well regard the cost of backing the Anya-Nya as a bargain in terms of the Sudanese army tied down at home. Nevertheless it remains mere conjecture until Prime Minister al-Nimeiry publishes the proofs he says he holds or other evidence is forthcoming from that remote, cruel and costly war.

CPYRGHT

THE ECONOMIST AUGUST 1, 1970

CPYRGHT

Sudan

## To the death

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

Clutching his bow and arrow, infantryman Andrew Gatulak lay dying from a leg wound, a few yards from the thatched hut which is the "parliament" of the "Nile Provisional Government," the nominal leadership of the south Sudanese rebels. Inside the "parliament" MPs and ministers debated how to get the drugs that might have saved Gatulak.

The rebels—Christian or pagan Negroes as opposed to the Moslem Arabs who dominate Sudan—have refused to accept the vague offers of autonomy made by General Nemeiri, head of the army junta which seized power in Khartoum in 1969. Three times, they say, Khartoum governments have recognised the individuality of the south, which was separately administered by the British. Each time the south was deceived.

"During the round table conference of 1965, observers from neighbouring African states were dished out the same promises," says Stephen Ciec Lam, the NPG's "minister for information." "Four months later, 3,000 Africans in Wau and Juba were murdered in cold blood. We are convinced that Nemeiri's government, like the others, is hypocritical."

The NPG, claiming to speak for 6 million southern Sudanese in the arid wastes of more than quarter of a million square miles, holds office in a compound of mud huts. There are 11 ministers, 11 deputy ministers and 30 MPs. The instruments of the constitution are a few scruffy sheets of writing paper and an ancient typewriter.

The ministry of education—the portfolio is still vacant—has begun a new system of primary education, the history book written in painful but legible hand with a pencil and the pages distributed to schools on a rotation basis. It deals only with South Sudan's claims for nationhood and the evil Arabs seeking to dominate it.

The attorney-general administers a judicial system, based on Britain's old colonial penal code, but offenders can-

not be sent to prison. There are none. The ministry of finance runs a fiscal system which includes taxation and "contributions" for the national cause.

There is even a ministry of the interior, in charge of security, parliamentary elections—based on a show of hands—and border control. It tried to issue passports, but nobody recognised them.

There has been war in southern Sudan for 15 years. Missionaries who have travelled in the area say it is worse than Biafra. Government forces hold the towns, but many of the indigenous people have fled, fearful after many massacres committed as reprisals for rebel activity. The rebels have a detailed list of atrocities in which thousands of people have died.

Many of the rebel leaders have held jobs in Khartoum. Mr Gordon Mayen, president of the NPG, began his career as a police officer under the British administration, became a district commissioner after independence, and finally minister of works. He quit in 1967. Now he tells his followers, "Only an independent Nile state can guarantee the security of our people. A million patriotic dead

Nileans separate us and the Arabs for all time."

Mr Lam was secretary to the minister of the interior in Khartoum in 1964-65.

He quit, he says, because he became convinced that the south Sudanese could only achieve justice by fighting. "Reconciliation is impossible," he says. "The Arabs are committed to a policy of genocide. Our villages are bombed indiscriminately. There have been no services—schools, hospitals or local government—for seven years. It is a fight for survival. We will not surrender. We'd sooner be wiped out."

So far as the claimed 20,000 rebel troops are concerned, that may well be the result. Government troops are efficient and well armed, and backed by Mig planes, flown, the rebels say, by Egyptian pilots. The ill-trained rebels fight for survival with a few Israeli and British automatic weapons bought on the black-market, and with captured arms. But most of them have only poison arrows to face bombs and napalm—not to mention disease, malnutrition and a world that does not care.

# The Unknown War In the Sudan

CPYRGHT

By LAWRENCE FELLOWS

**A** KHARTOUM, the Sudan.  
SUDANESE Army captain lay sprawling out of a wicker chair on the covered deck of the steamer *El Mirrech*. He was half-asleep and rolled uncomfortably as the steamer and its half a dozen barges made their way down the upper reaches of the White Nile, bumping from one bank of matted vegetation to the other in a fetid, mauve-green sea of reeds. The captain's long, white robe clung to his skin where the perspiration had soaked through. He had been reading, but the oppressive heat and the heavy progress of the steamer were overpowering and his book lay open on its crumpled pages on the deck by his chair.

When the barges started to heave up onto the bank at one sharp bend in the river, the sun crept up to his eyes and he half-consciously sheltered them against the hard light. The cables groaned and snapped like great, cracking whips and the waves pushed out by the sidling barges rushed hissing into the reeds. We knew we would hit the bank hard. Yet the captain seemed startled by the bump when it came. He sat bolt upright and, still not really awake, tried to concentrate on a plume of smoke rising from a distant point on the horizon. It might have been nothing more than a camp of Dinka tribesmen burning off the coarse grass so that fresh grass for their cattle could come up later. It might also have been a village burning after an army raid, or perhaps after a raid by the Anya'nya rebels. A frown deepened on the captain's face, and he looked away.

"Oh," he said, "I had already forgotten about the war."

**I**T is easy enough to forget about the savage, awful war that has raged through the three southern provinces of the Sudan for the last six years. It is a war that involves neither foreign ideologies nor foreign powers, fought over distant and isolated territory of no special economic value, and by Africans with

feeble political and military power. And yet it will not go away; it has rent the physically biggest state in Africa disastrously, perhaps irreparably; it has spilled over the borders into five neighboring countries, creating recurrent diplomatic, military and refugee problems; and it has taken already perhaps half a million lives, making it a far more costly war than Vietnam, and the rebels vow that they will continue to fight for 20 years more if need be.

In simplest terms, the war is a rebellion run by a ragged organization of guerrillas hoping to lead the 3 or 4 million black, Christian or pagan, Africa-oriented people of the southern third of the Sudan away from the 9 million Moslem and Arab-oriented people of the north. The rebels are fighting the Arab-dominated Government in Khartoum and its well-equipped, growing army of 22,000 men with a raggle-taggle organization known as the Anya'nya, whose name is taken from the deadly powder made by drying and grinding the whole head of the cobra, a slow but invariably fatal poison. Their political arm is the Southern Sudan Provisional Government, headed by ex-civil servant Aggrey Jaden, and the military is a force of perhaps 5,000 men splintered into small uncoordinated bands, nominally commanded by Col. Tafeng Lodongi.

**F**LYING low over the south, you can get an idea of the chaotic effect of this hidden war. Nearly every village in the south has been burned to the ground by troops trying to stamp out support for the rebellion, or by rebels punishing villagers who accepted the army's authority. The survivors in the bush live a hunted, half-starved existence. They can be seen in scattered camps, away from the river, away from the roads, where neither the army nor the Anya'nya can get at them.

Even there, whole camps are easily wiped out by diseases that sweep over them—malaria, dysentery, black fever. They are hungry and



have little resistance. They have no doctors, no medicines. They do not even have salt. African priests and merchants who still move around a bit in the south reckon there can hardly be a family left that has not lost someone.

"Half a million dead," reflected Hamid Ali Shash, the soft-spoken, intense looking Commissioner of Equatoria Province, flush against Uganda and the center of the rebellion. He was shaking his head.

"Half a million," he said. "That's one in six, or one in eight. No, it cannot be. It must be less."

"How many?" I asked.

"I don't know," he said. "How can anyone know?"

Certain knowledge about anything in the Sudan is hard to come by. It is extremely difficult to gauge the progress of the rebellion, both because the Khartoum Government does not normally allow outsiders, including journalists, free access to and around the south, and because this war—like Vietnam's, without definable fronts—is largely a matter of ambush, political murder, occupation and pacification, where the allegiance of the countryside is always uncertain. But indications are that the Government in recent months has managed to make considerable progress in isolating the Anya'nya bands, opening thin corridors of authority along the major roads and, through soldiers and police, keeping the peace in many newly established villages.

**H**OW long the rebellion can stay under control is anybody's guess, and the Government is hoping fervently for a continuance of the disunity and tribal antagonisms that have plagued both the political and military sides of the Anya'nya. But it is clear that the guerrilla force has won overt allegiance from many southerners and tacit support from many more because it expresses their very real and long-standing religious, racial, tribal, economic and historical grievances against the northerners. As long as these grievances remain unsatisfied, the brutal business of guerrilla war will continue for years to come.

*In the barges, northerner and southerner did not talk to each other, but neither did they argue. When they ate, Arab and African leaned together over the sides, stripping sugar cane with their teeth, spitting the chewed-out pulp into the water. Sometimes the soldiers would watch the southern women nursing their children, listen to their plaintive songs, study the*

*carefully patterned scars that decorated their backs and chests. When a woman stood and loosened her robes to rub ghee over her body, the Arab soldiers turned discreetly away, looking out into the river.*

Only the Nile and a long, unhappy history tie together north and south. As a British

colony, the Sudan had value only as a buffer for the strategic Nile, and hence Egypt itself; in fact, the British made the south a part of their colony only to keep the French away from the headwaters of the Nile.

British rule extended only slowly over the south, but the British decided the area had to be closed off to Arab influence from the north. Christian missions were made responsible for education. Northern merchants were excluded from the south, Greek and Syrian traders encouraged. Northern clerks and officials were transferred back to the north. Arabic patois and Arabic names were discouraged. One zealous district commissioner even forbade the sale of Arabic clothing.

— After World War II, in the rush to independence, this policy gave way. The southerners were suspicious of the northerners, and hesitant about throwing in their lot with them, but in the end they had no choice. The British began to withdraw. Northern merchants and civil servants flocked into the south. Few southerners got jobs; probably few were eligible, but the south grew morose and a demand welled up for some form of federation to protect southern rights.

At Nazara, on July 26, 1955, half a year before independence, a mob of southerners demonstrated against some mass dismissals from a cotton-growing and processing scheme. The soldiers sent to quell them lost their nerve and fired into the mob; northern merchants stood beside the soldiers, firing with them.

Three weeks later more trouble came. In the garrison of the Equatoria Corps an Arab officer drew his revolver and shot an unruly African soldier. The African soldiers went on a rampage and swept through the province killing every northerner they could find. Men, women and children were butchered or whipped and skinned and hung from trees. Northern troops were

flown to the south to restore order, but not until hundreds had been killed. The whole south was locked under emergency regulations which are still in effect.

The rebellion failed. The mutiny had been unorganized and leaderless and not even the southern politicians in Khartoum had supported it. But it left hundreds of African soldiers armed, vengeful and scattered in the bush.

**T**HE military regime that took over power from the inept politicians in Khartoum in 1958 tried to bear down on the south, but only made things worse. Talk about federation was banned, and the southerners began thinking of secession. Fighting finally broke out again in 1962, villagers dug ditches in the roads or felled trees across them to immobilize the army. The next year, the Anya'nya was formed and the rebellion enveloped the whole of the south.

In 1964 the army regime fell. The caretaker government that took over was more acceptable to the southerners, but there seemed to be no turning back. A cease-fire was proclaimed, but it did not work. When Mohammed Ahmed Mahgoub took over as Prime Minister in 1965, he pursued a hard line with the rebels. There were fierce massacres of civilians in Wau and Juba. Refugees were pursued in the bush, and sometimes across the borders. Every village school in the south was destroyed, and there were more than 500 of them. The mission stations were shot up and sometimes bombed.

This spring southerner Ottiafano Amauro returned home to his village of Liria, to his father and his family. After six weary years with the Anya'nya he had had enough. Not that he liked the Arabs of the north any better than any other southerner. He knew from his childhood all the old stories about the 19th-century Arab raids for slaves and ivory. He had been cheated by Arab merchants and had suffered the brutal excesses of Arab soldiers and policemen. He had no wish to become a Moslem or wear the loose-wrapped turban and long, white robe that might help ease him into the fringes of the establishment. He just wanted to be let alone.

Ottiafano had been a corporal in the Sudanese Army at the time of the army mutiny in 1955 which had first set north against south. He and all the 140 other southerners in his company stole 12 army trucks, headed for the Uganda border and walked across as refugees. He wandered back to the Sudan in 1959, heading for Liria, and was thrown into a Sudanese jail. After a month he was let out, then stayed at home until the Anya'nya rebellion started.

In 1963 he was captured by the Anya'nya in a field outside his village. Of the 75 men in the gang that captured him, two had rifles. The rest were armed with spears, clubs, bows and arrows. Because of Ottiafano's military training, they pressed him into service as a lieutenant, and gave him one of the rifles—a Chinese .375 that was built to hold five cartridges, but jammed if more than four were put into it.

Eventually his group was reduced to seven men—five lieutenants and two privates. All had rifles. They roamed usually through the dense forest around Yei, near the Uganda border, living on the game they could shoot, possibly on the food they were given by villagers or stole from them. Ottiafano refuses to talk about that, or about the battles he had with the soldiers. But when he finally gave himself up this year, he would not surrender to a soldier. He waited in the forest at the edge of Liria until a policeman walked by. Then he surrendered.

The Anya'nya followed him to the village a few months ago, and shot his father and 10 other villagers in revenge before the army chased them away.

**M**OST of the southerners are Nilotic, with scars drawn on their deep-black faces to distinguish them by tribes—the Dinka, the Nuer, the Shilluk, the Annuak. They live in the marshes with their beloved, long-horned cattle, and care for little else. Some live by nothing more than hunting crocodiles, or burning the marsh grass to catch and eat the rats when they come skittering out.

Usually they wear nothing, and smear their bodies with mud when they are in the marshes, to discour-

age the mosquitoes that choke the hot, evening air. But when the Dinkas clamber into the barges on the river, they wear their best: half-shaven heads daubed with earthy hues of orange or red, ears powdered white, necklaces of blue-dyed beads, perhaps a shawl to cover the shoulders. One Dinka wore a wrist watch and nothing else.

Along the southern borders are the smaller tribes, Sudanic, Nilo-Hamitic or Nilotic: the Bari, the Moru, the Azande, the Madi, the Acholi, the Latuka and dozens of others. Some of the tribes have cattle, but most of them in the forest areas are cultivators of the most primitive sort—planting cassava or durra, occasionally raising chickens. Many were never reached by the missionaries. Some never saw a white man before, and when one came they touched his skin and looked under his shirt to see if he was white all over. Almost all of these tribes are represented in the Anya'nya.

**T**HE President of the Southern Sudan Provisional Government, Aggrey Jaden, is a mission-educated Bari tribesman. His Vice President, Camillo Dhol Kwach, who once served as a member of the Sudan's Parliament, is a Dinka. The Minister of Finance, Tadeo Bidai, is a Zande. The Minister of Education, Othwonh Dak, is the son of the Shilluk king. All the tribes are represented, too, in the military side of the Anya'nya, but it doesn't take much imagination to picture the generally primitive state of their weapons and organization. The guerrillas began by raiding police posts and army garrisons for their guns and then in 1964 bought

and bartered from the Congo rebels the very same weapons the Sudanese had shipped through in a vain effort to support that rebellion before it collapsed. Today, however, the army has tightened its control, the Congo is quiet and the rebels do not come by weapons so easily; ammunition is especially scarce.

There are always weapons floating around Africa as items of barter, but they usually have to be paid for. The Anya'nya collect taxes in most places in the south, even where the

Sudanese Army feels it has really good control, but the rebels lose when they exchange the Sudanese money; in Nairobi, for example, they get 10 shillings for a pound. Some church groups collect money for them abroad, but very often it arrives in the form of food and medicine, and these things are useless to an army that needs sometimes five or six months to get things from one remote point to another.

Other troubles are plaguing the rebels' organization these days. Though the Anya'nya claim now to have an army of 5,000 men, to think of it in terms of an organized force of that size would be wildly wrong. The Sudanese Army probably with more than 12,000 troops in the south, has broken the Anya'nya into isolated bands, sometimes of only three or four men. Without effective central command, the guerrillas live like brigands, sniping at army convoys when they have the chance, raiding villages that refuse to give them food or recruits to go with their rebel army as soldiers or bearers or wives. There are incidents almost every day; any place in the south can be unsafe if a rebel or two happen to be in the area. But only rarely now can the Anya'nya muster the resources to take a sustained attack on a police post or an army garrison, or lay a really deadly ambush for northern troops or for southerners they feel have gone over to the other side.

Col. Tafeng Lodongi, the commander of the rebel army, is a Latuka tribesman, a former corporal in the Sudanese Army who never went to school, a very bitter man. Not long ago two nieces of his, Veronica and Angelica, were taking part in a funeral dance, after an army raid on their village. A second army patrol drove into the village during the dance, and asked the village headman if there were any of Colonel Tafeng's relatives there. When the headman presented the two girls, the officer in charge of the patrol drew his pistol and shot them dead.

THE northerners live in a world apart. They look to Cairo, not Juba; their interests lie more in the Arab world than in black Africa. It is as if the vast swampy region between

them and the south were a stone wall.

They are Nubians and Jaalin, who live on the watered banks of the Nile where it courses through the northern desert to Egypt. They are Hadendoa and Amarar from the rugged hills on the Red Sea coast, who trace their ancestry through lines of fierce warriors to the Fuzzy-Wuzzies who fought the British and to the Blannyes who fought the Romans. They are the Baggara, who hunt on horseback for lions and elephants on the western plains; and the Kabbabish, who wander into the southern reaches of the Libyan desert, living for months on nothing but the milk and meat of their camels.

Some are very dark, for over the centuries the Arabs have moved, in conquering armies or as hunters of ivory and men, into all but the most remote and inaccessible regions of the south. They have taken their wives from around them, and the differences in color and facial characteristics now are very often blurred. Because of this, the racial issues are too obscured to be an explanation of the savagery of the war.

Yet the northerner lives in an Islamic culture and is proud of his Arab connections. He can scorn the southerner today as his ancestors did only a few generations ago; his ancestors who captured pagan tribesmen and shipped them in chains to the slave blocks of the Middle East, leaving a bitter residue that survives today.

"We are not slave traders," said Hamid Ali Shash, the Commissioner of Equatoria. "Perhaps our grandfathers were. But they were not the only ones. It doesn't matter. We want to impress on the people that they have nothing more to fear. How else can we get them into the villages? How else can we begin the task of reconstruction?"

He sounded worried. He was an intense man who worried about the task as he worried about a lot of things, the unending rain, the time it took the coffee to arrive for the guest in his office.

In Juba, I met a nervous, well-dressed man, a Kresh tribesman far from home, headed for Khartoum; he hated the Arab's world, but he

was venturing into it to seek his fortune. Together we watched women running to a dance starting in an open field, looking gay in their printed cotton dresses and bare feet. We could hear the drums beating and the sad, shrill voice of a woman. These people were not of his tribe, and their songs must have been different. Yet he was reminded of one, and sang along quietly in halting English:

*I don't like you,  
But you keep calling me.  
What for?*

A love song, he said. Rather, sometimes it was a love song; that is what they always told the Arabs who asked. Really, it was a song about the slave trade. He knew nothing more about the slave trade than what his grandmother had told him by the cooking fires at night. Now it was wrapped up in the traditions of bitterness in his tribe, in the secretive instincts, the lingering suspicions. There were other words, he started to say, but he was listening again to the music, and started singing again:

*The man is still calling me  
And I do not like him.  
My mother, I am the only dead one  
Here in this town.*

SOME signs of normality are now evident in the troubled south. Southerners can be seen walking along the roads these days, at least near the villages in the army's narrow corridors of newly established, still tenuous authority. At the Juba ferry, southerners cross to the west bank of the Nile with bundles of thatch, reed mats and baskets of grain to sell in the Juba market. On the east bank a squat old woman ladles marisa out of five-gallon cans and sells the thick, vinegary brew to the people crossing back from the market with their hard-won piasters. Not so long ago there would have been nobody in sight.

The northerners in the Government in Khartoum seem to be making an effort to return to normal, too. White missionaries are still kept out of the south, but two Tanzanian priests—Father Barnabas Temu and Father Mark Riwa—have just been permitted to take up teaching posts in the Theological College at Malakal

and help minister to the untended flocks of Roman Catholics in Upper Nile Province.

In Equatoria Province, schools have been reopened in Juba and half a dozen big villages. Schools are an indication of the Government's good intentions. They also indicate, more accurately than the army reports, the areas that can be considered fairly secure.

In Bahr el Ghazal the thin lines of apparent security stretch outward from the provincial capital of Wau for several hundred miles eastward, some 50 or 60 miles north and west. In Upper Nile, the quietest of the three provinces, the rebels appear to be blocked into a narrow margin of territory behind the swamps close to the Ethiopian border.

I traveled 50 miles eastward from Juba to the village of Liria, where the authorities are hoping to open another school. I could travel only in a military convoy. At one time, this stretch of road was broken in a dozen places by deep trenches and vehicle traps, but the army engineers have it open now. We stopped when we saw a trail of vines and branches scattered across the road, but it was nothing. Perhaps a rhinoceros had crashed across the road toward some real or imagined enemy. Farther along, a tree lay across the road, but there was no ambush; probably the work of an elephant.

THE Anya'nya were on this road last November, at the end of the rainy season, burning off the elephant grass by the road before the grass was completely dry. By burning early they made it impossible for the army to set the grass afire when it was completely dry and thus clear the whole roadside of hiding places. Little clumps of grass were still standing, possible cover for the Anya'nya, which the army had not got around to clearing out. But no one fired at the convoy that day.

At Ngangala, on the way, a new village was being built under the watchful eye of the army. It was the only village on a stretch that used to be full of them.

At Liria itself, there were 6,000 people in a village that looked like almost any other. There were no fortifications, no barbed-wire barriers

thrown around. There were 10 policemen and 25 soldiers living in their own camp on one side of town. Eventually, the soldiers were to be withdrawn and the police force enlarged. It would have to be quiet around Liria for a long time before the police, too, could be withdrawn.

*There had been a stampede to get aboard the El Mirrech steamer at Juba; there had been at every landing. Old women and children were thrown from the narrow gangplank in the clamor; everywhere people seemed to be grasping at outstretched hands, grabbing eggs or chickens or canes of sugar, arguing about money. Some merely wanted to get aboard as passengers, and they tumbled against the side of the barge or fell into the river. Police whacked them with sticks, canes and lengths of knotted rope in a hopeless effort to maintain order.*

*"We treat them like animals," the army captain on the deck said, long after the steamer had moved out of the vast expanse of melancholy swamp, and the sea of reeds had turned to desert. Only a few palms and acacias grew by the river, where the water soaks into the banks. The clouds had disappeared from the sky and it was steel blue, but it ought to have been another color—orange or red—for it burned mercilessly on the barren landscape. The fine sand was driven by the wind into a wild, tireless whirlwind that skidded erratically over the hot surface.*

*"The devil is dancing," the captain said, watching the desert. "He will make me forget." ■*

October 13, 1970

SUDAN:

## The Anya'Nya Revolt

CPYRGHT

During most of the nineteenth century, Arab slave traders sailed down the red-cooked White Nile to southern Sudan in search of blacks to be sold in the great slave markets of Khartoum and Cairo. Although the slave trade has long been out-

lawed, the bitterness of the Sudan's black minority (6.5 million) toward the country's ruling Arabs (9 million) has remained. Six years ago, the blacks revolted and plunged their country into a savage civil war which, through disease, famine and bloodshed, has already claimed an estimated half million lives. Despite promises by a new leftist military regime in Khartoum to give the blacks some measure of local self-government, the war shows no signs of diminishing. Recently, Newsweek's David Robison spent seven weeks in southern Sudan, thus becoming the first Western newsman to travel extensively in the guerrilla-infested territory. Below, his report:

Anya'Nya is a slow and fatal poison made by grinding the dried head of the cobra into fine powder. And Anya'Nya is also the name that the 10,000 black guerrillas in Sudan's three southern provinces have given themselves. With the overwhelming support of black Sudanese, these poorly armed rebels have gained what amounts to de facto rule over much of southern Sudan. In fact, outside a few closely guarded cities and towns—in the swamps, forests and malaria-ridden grasslands—the Anya'Nya is usually the only law.

The guerrillas have given southern Sudan the first effective and popular government it has ever known. There is an Anya'Nya police force, and each year a tax of \$1.30 per family is collected to further the struggle for an independent black state. "We don't pay the tax because the Anya'Nya force us to," an old man told me. "We pay because they have so few weapons, bullets and clothes."

Not once during the weeks in which I walked through Equatoria Province did I come upon a Sudanese official or army patrol. This is not as unusual as it might seem, since Khartoum has been playing a waiting game. No medicine and almost no clothing have reached the countryside in several years, and the Sudanese Government believes that, sooner or later, the rebels will have to give in. Yet, morale in the southern Sudan remains high, despite the fact that most black Sudanese have less clothing and food than even the

poorest Africans in neighboring states. In every village the night air is punctuated by the hacking, wheezing and rasping of the sick. And children, with stomachs swollen from malnutrition and skin covered with flaky sores, sit dull and listless in the dusty streets—a grim scene reminiscent of Biafra.

**Stories:** In Yariibe, a not untypical village of 700, Chief Yoseke Yongo said that 111 of the 400 children under his care had died in the past two years from measles, whooping cough, worms and pneumonia. Only once during that time have the villagers gone to the nearest town for medical treatment. "In December 1968," Chief Yongo said sadly, "my brother sent four of his children to Yei. They were caught by the Arabs at the hospital, taken to the military barracks and slaughtered." Almost all black Sudanese have similar atrocity stories to tell (though, in fairness to the Arab side, one must point out that these tales are impossible to verify). Most blacks insist, moreover, that although the tempo of violence has slowed in the past two years, Sudanese troops still occasionally venture out of their garrison towns to burn villages, destroy crops and kill random villagers.

Though the Anya'Nya are anxious to carry the fight to the Arabs, they are prevented from doing so by their lack of the modern instruments of war. The weapons they do have—an incredible mélange of Chinese banana guns, Belgian Mausers and a few .88-mm. cannon—were obtained years ago at black markets in the Congo. Two out of three rebel soldiers are armed with bows and cunningly barbed arrows that can only be removed by a surgeon. Even those troops who carry guns have so little ammunition that they cannot afford to risk long skirmishes with Arab patrols. Although the rebel area is bigger than the eastern United States (map), the guerrillas have no radio communication or vehicular transportation. When Lt. Col. James Loro, the Anya'Nya commander of Upper Nile Province, travels from Anya'Nya headquarters in Equatoria to his regional headquarters, it requires a 400-mile trek by foot and canoe. "All we have are small canoes and a few guns," the 24-year-old officer says with a touch of bravado, "and we fight the Arab motorboats and machine guns." Even with such limited weaponry, the guerrillas have set themselves a difficult goal—to attack every government road convoy and Nile steamer, as well as the once-a-week train from Khartoum to the south.

**New Order:** The rebel officers have placed their hopes for military success in the hands of a soft-spoken major general named Emidio Tafeng. Three months ago, General Tafeng, 59, took over the Anya'Nya government from civilian politicians whom he accused of embezzling tax money. Tafeng, who dresses no better than his ragged troops, proclaimed that the southern Sudan was an independent state and would henceforth be known as Anyidi. More important, as far as Anya'Nya military men were concerned, the energetic Tafeng has set out to seek large shipments of arms from Western sources such as West Germany and Israel. "God says men should be free," he argues. "The Arabs will never develop us. There is no trust. And we in turn will not accept anything less than complete independence."

This leaves the four-month-old leftist government of Africa's largest country with a terrible dilemma. Its old policy of keeping the south an isolated, ignorant patch of suffering has only stiffened black resistance. Yet to go halfway and grant the blacks local autonomy might only spread the virus of separatism. For the educated elite of the south are almost all Anya'Nya or Anya'Nya sympathizers. And they are not likely to give up their goal of an independent Anyidi for the nebulous concept of partial local self-rule.

Whatever Khartoum decides to do, the prospect is for continued fighting and suffering. The south is just too vast for the 30,000-man Sudanese Army ever to fully pacify. The Anya'Nya, for their part, are too weak and poorly armed to wrest independence from Khartoum. Should General Tafeng succeed in obtaining foreign arms, the Arabs will probably seek more of their own—possibly from the Russians. Even without foreign military aid, the conflict is likely to attract sympathy—and perhaps direct military aid—from outside powers, with Arab states siding with the Sudan Government and African nations helping the Anya'Nya. And if that happens, then the unknown war will be unknown no longer.

THE TIMES, London, October 19, 1970

CPYRGHT

# How six Sudanese died

## A Family Massacre

Mr. Joseph Garang, the Minister in the Sudanese revolutionary government responsible for Southern Sudan, has just announced a year's extension of the amnesty for southerners who have been engaged in secessionist activity but wish to return to their own country. Tension and sometimes open warfare between northerners, of partly Arabic stock, and southerners, of African origin, has been the most disturbing factor in Sudan's development for years, and it requires a considerable act of confidence and faith for a southerner to return to territory still garrisoned and administered by northern troops and officials.

The growth of their confidence may be seriously damaged by some new information on the recent killing of six members of one of the leading Dinka families (one of the main tribes in the Sudan), including the paramount chief of the Ngok Dinka. The critical point about these events is that they take place in a family which has traditionally favoured cooperation between north and south, and at Abyei in Kordofan Province, not on the southern borders of the country, but in the borderland between northerners and southerners. Kordofan is geographically in the north, but the Ngok Dinka are a part of the complex of southern tribes.

The paramount chief, Abdalla Deng, was elected only a year ago on the death of his father. It is alleged that last month he was killed, with two brothers and three uncles, by seven Sudanese Government soldiers. He was then 27. His grandfather, Chief Kuol Arop, had sought cooperation with the Anglo-Egyptian Government in the Sudan, and his father, Chief Deng Kuol Arop, had cooperated with the Sudanese Government.

The following report of the circumstances of Chief Abdalla's death has been prepared by his relatives:—

"In all, six were killed and these are Abdalla Deng, Bulabek Deng Kuol, Lino Chan Deng Kuol, Arop Mahdi Arop, Thuc

Col Gueny, and Kiir Jal, as they were just having a walk on the evening of September 17, 1970. Eyewitnesses say that they were shot by a group of about seven soldiers which included the local commanding officer, Mohammed El Basha.

"The immediate cause which resulted in the killing in cold blood of these people was that during August or early September, Mohammed El Basha with a number of his followers, following a false report of an Anyanya (southern rebel army) cattle camp at Dokura, went to Dokura where they found a camp and killed four persons from Tuic. As usual, they took away the cattle of those killed, in all amounting to about 150 cows. Mohammed Basha wanted to sell these cows as is the normal practice, but he could not do so without the local (chief's) court approval.

"Thus he came to the court and Abdalla told him that those who have been killed were not rebels but law-abiding citizens and consequently he saw that there was no reason why these cattle should be sold and told him that he was referring the case to the resident magistrate. As a result of this Mohammed El Basha became serious and threatened Abdalla to the effect that this was his last time to come to his court and if anything at all happened, the first bullet that he would release would be for Abdalla.

"With this threat, Abdalla wrote to the Provincial Commissioner at El-Obeid reporting the incident and actually asked for the Province Security Committee to visit Abyei to see for themselves what was going on. However, a few days after the quarrel, specifically on September 17, Mohammed El Basha with six other soldiers ambushed Abdalla and those killed with him, and opened fire on them. All six died on the spot."

The family point out that the Tuic Dinka, four of whose men were killed in the cattle raid, by tradition come from the south to

graze their cattle at Abyei. The Ngok Dinka, believing in the good faith of the Sudanese central government, look to the northern administrators in the provincial capital for protection of law and order. Documentary evidence supports this. Two of Chief Abdalla's brothers living abroad have once before had to rely on provincial administration after an alleged murder by Sudanese soldiers. They are Dr. Francis Deng, with law degrees from Khartoum and Yale universities who is now a senior official of the Human Rights Division of the United Nations in New York, and Dr. Zakaria Bol Deng, with medical degrees from Padua and Bologna universities, who is a senior house physician at Waddon Hospital, Croydon, Surrey.

They returned to Abyei for their father's funeral last year to find that only two days earlier, Anyel Kuol Arop, one of their uncles, had been killed by the local commander, Mohammed Basha's predecessor, on mere suspicion of connexion with Anyanya. As the family put it, no one believed he was a rebel but "on the contrary he was a well-established citizen with three wives, several children, and a good number of cows". Dr. Francis and Dr. Bol Deng made no public outcry about this incident, but presented a report to the northern authorities asking for a stronger administrative presence by the central government.

Chief Abdalla's family are now seeking public inquiry into the killings this September. Dr. Bol Deng said that if the matter were to come to trial, witnesses would be willing to go from Abyei to Khartoum. He and his brother still believe in the intentions of the central government, but argue that the test is whether the government will control the army on the ground. Their initial hopes with the new government which took power nearly 18 months ago are now tinged with scepticism.

**Michael Wolfers**

# Une guerre oubliée d'Afrique

CPYRGHT

La presse continue d'oublier la guerre civile qui se poursuit dans le Soudan du Sud — un conflit racial entre Africains et Arabes qui fait rage depuis 15 ans.

C'est donc à propos que le principal journal indépendant de la neutre Autriche, **DIE PRESSE**, a examiné récemment les conditions de cette guerre dans un long article fondé en partie sur des interviews accordés par des dirigeants soudanais réfugiés en Afrique orientale.

Selon le journal viennois, près d'un million de personnes ont déjà été tuées dans cette guerre. «C'est le combat de David et de Goliath», dit le journal. «Les Africains du Sud, vêtus de guenilles et armés de lances, d'arcs et de flèches — peu d'entre eux ont des armes à feu — luttent contre des chasseurs à réaction et des bombes.

La guerre a commencé en 1955 par un soulèvement local, organisé par les Africains contre leurs dirigeants arabes. Ces Africains, vivant dans le sud, n'ont rien à perdre, hors leur vie, car le Sud a toujours été négligé par les différents gouvernements de Khartoum, à prédominance arabe.

Le sort des Africains empira encore en 1958 quand le général Abboud s'empara du pouvoir par un coup d'Etat sans effusion de sang et devint Président du Soudan. Son régime militaire poursuivit une stricte politique d'arabisation et d'islamisation. Les missionnaires chrétiens furent expulsés, l'arabe devint la seule langue nationale et 1.500.000 Arabes s'établirent dans le Sud à prédominance africaine.

Quand ce plan de colonisation fut connue dans le Sud, les Africains s'y opposèrent. En 1962, l'Union Nationale du Soudan Africain (UNSA) s'établit à l'étranger et depuis, elle a lutté pour sa cause par des appels et des pétitions aux organisations internationales.

L'activité des politiciens soudanais à l'étranger, ajoute **Die Presse**, a causé une répression accrue dans le pays. Des villages furent brûlés et pillés, et leurs habitants — hommes, femmes et enfants — assassinés.

Ces horreurs eurent pour conséquence la fondation d'un mouvement appelé Anya'nya, en 1963. Ce nom est celui d'un poison mortel qu'on obtient en réduisant en poussière la tête séchée d'un cobra.

Anya'nya transforma la guérilla, qui existait depuis 1955, en une force de combat plus efficace.

En 1964, le régime du général Abboud tomba, et le secrétaire général de l'UNSA,

William Deng, qui fut assassiné l'an dernier à Khartoum, retourna dans le gouvernement avec d'autres politiciens exilés.

Ceci marqua le début de profondes divergences dans les rangs de l'opposition africaine.

En 1965, Joseph Oduha réunit les groupes rivaux des politiciens du Soudan du Sud sous l'égide du Front de Libération de l'Any'a'nya (FLA). Mais, en 1967, un soi-disant «gouvernement provisoire» fut fondé dans le Soudan du Sud sans l'aide du FLA, et, en 1968, il commença à s'appeler le «Gouvernement Provisoire du Nil». Oduha s'opposa violemment à ce mouvement. Avec l'aide de Joseph Lagu, chef du FLA dans la province équatoriale, ils réunirent une force disciplinée qu'ils appelèrent l'Organisation Nationale de l'Any'a'nya (ONA).

Depuis lors, les mouvements voulant créer un Etat africain dans le Sud du Soudan se sont divisés en deux groupes principaux: le Gouvernement Provisoire du Nil et l'ONA. Un troisième groupe, le Front Uni de Libération du Soudan Africain fut créé en mars 1970 au Congo-Kinshasa. Son but est de réaliser un Soudan gouverné par les Africains et ne subissant plus l'influence arabe.

Le président du Gouvernement Provisoire du Nil est Gordon Mayen, ancien ministre du Travail à Khartoum. Ce gouvernement a déclaré l'indépendance des trois provinces du Sud du Soudan et les a appelées la «République du Nil». Son «parlement» siège dans une hutte de terre, en pleine forêt. Jusqu'ici, il n'a pas été découvert par les Arabes. Le parlement le plus secret au monde, cela a l'air d'une tragédie, mais les acteurs sont terriblement sérieux, dit l'article de **Presse**. Les Forces Armées Nationales de l'Any'a'nya représentent l'organisation militaire du Gouvernement du Nil.

L'autre groupe principal, l'ONA, n'a pas d'organisation civile. Il est purement militaire et se montre très critique envers les membres du Gouvernement du Nil.

Le territoire du Soudan du Sud équivaut à deux fois celui de la République Fédérale Allemande. C'est un pays de forêts humides, infesté par la malaria, et dans lequel les serpents et les animaux sauvages abondent.

Les petites villes du Sud, fortifiées contre les attaques de l'Any'a'nya ne sont habitées maintenant que par des Arabes, les Africains ayant fui par crainte des persécutions. Dans la brousse, la loi de l'Any'a'nya prévaut. Cette région est trop peu maniable et trop grande pour que les troupes arabes puissent la contrôler entièrement. De leur côté, les Africains sont trop faibles, trop mal nourris et

trop mal équipés en armes pour lutter avec succès à eux seuls contre Khartoum. Leurs efforts ont eu relativement peu d'effets sur des forces gouvernementales en nombre supérieure..

Mais, par leur tactique de guérilla, ils réussissent à harasser une armée professionnelle de plus de 10.000 hommes. Cela comprend la destruction de ponts et de routes, l'attaque de convois routiers et de bateaux sur le Nil, la coupure des voies de chemin de fer reliant Khartoum à d'autres centres.

Bien sûr, les autorités de Khartoum ripostent. «Ils (les Arabes) arrivent généralement à la tombée de la nuit, entourent un village et jettent des tisons sur les toits de chaume», dit Joseph Oduha. «Affolés, les habitants s'enfuient de cet enfer brûlant et tombent entre les mains des Arabes qui les torturent, les violent et les assassinent — la plupart du temps, ce sont des femmes, des enfants, et des malades».

Les hommes vivent habituellement dans la brousse, combattant ou s'entraînant au combat. Ils laissent à leurs femmes et à leurs enfants le soin de cultiver le peu de terres qui peut encore l'être. Chaque fois que les Arabes trouvent des traces de campement africain, ils réduisent tout à nouveau en cendres, dit l'article de Die Presse. C'est pourquoi un grand nombre de Soudanais du Sud ont fui leur pays. Plus encore sont morts de faim.

Il n'y a légalement pas de discrimination raciale au Soudan. Cependant, selon le journal autrichien, les Arabes qui ont été la classe dominante pendant des générations et qui ont, dans le passé, considéré les Africains comme des esclaves, jugent encore la population africaine du Sud comme une race de seconde classe. «Ils ont transformé le Soudan en un Etat arabe», dit avec amertume Joseph Oduha. «Les Africains doivent s'humilier ou être déracinés».

Une aide militaire, continue le journal, est apportée par le Kremlin aux autorités arabes de Khartoum. Des Migs russes bombardent les villages du Soudan du Sud, et l'armée soudanaise reçoit un entraînement spécial des conseillers militaires soviétiques.

Des porte-paroles du gouvernement du Nil et de l'ONA ont parlé récemment, en Afrique orientale, à l'auteur de l'article de Die Presse.

Stephen Lamm, du gouvernement du Nil, a dit: «Dieu ne dit-il pas que tous les hommes naissent égaux et libres? Mais les Arabes ne nous reconnaîtront jamais comme de êtres égaux. Ils ne donneront jamais au Sud une chance de se développer sur le plan économique, social et éducatif. De notre côté, nous n'admettons pas de compromis. Nous ne voulons rien de moins qu'une indépendance complète». Joseph Oduha parla au nom de l'ONA: «Nous continuerons la guérilla jusqu'à

ce qu'un événement décisif se produise dans la politique mondiale, peut-être au Moyen-Orient.»

Lasse Jensen, correspondant en Afrique de la radio nationale du Danemark, a visité dernièrement le Soudan et en a rapporté ses impressions dans un article publié par le journal de Stockholm, *Dagens Nyheter*. Ce quotidien libéral, fondé il y a environ cent ans, fait autorité dans la neutre Suède.

L'article disait: «Depuis le coup d'Etat de l'an dernier (celui qui amena au pouvoir le Major-Général Nimeiri, à la tête d'un régime de gauche), le nombre des conseillers égyptiens, experts, diplomates et soldats a passé de quelques centaines à près de 10.000.» L'article ajoutait que l'on pensait que les conseillers économiques russes avaient préparé les récentes mesures de nationalisation et que les Bulgares entraînaient l'armée soudanaise. Des chasseurs Mig-21, pouvant servir à des opérations contre la guérilla du Sud, ont été inclus dans les dernières livraisons de matériel soviétique aux forces armées soudanaises.

Le Soudan n'est pas le seul pays africain déchiré par des conflits raciaux et dans lequel sont impliqués des Arabes. Le gouvernement libyen aide un petit groupe de sécessionnistes en puissance au Tchad, et les gouvernements de Syrie et du Yemen du Sud favorisent une tentative de sécession, sanglante et similaire, dans la province érythréenne de l'Ethiopie.



THE GUARDIAN OF LIBERTY, London  
Sept. - Oct. 1970

CPYRGHT

## Africa's Forgotten Racial War

The world's press continues to virtually ignore the civil war in the southern Sudan — the bitter racial conflict between Arabs and Africans which has been raging in remote bush-country for the past 15 years.

It was therefore timely that DIE PRESSE, neutral Austria's foremost independent newspaper, recently examined the background to the war in a long article based partly on interviews with leading Sudanese refugees living in East Africa.

According to the Vienna newspaper, almost a million people have been killed in the war. "It is David and Goliath who are fighting here", the article says. The Africans of the South, dressed in rags and sacking and armed with pangas, spears, bows and arrows — few have firearms — fight against jet aircraft and bombs.

The war began in 1955 with a local uprising by African southerners against their Arab rulers. The southerners, says the article, have nothing to lose but their lives, for the South has always been neglected by successive predominantly Arab governments in Khartoum.

The Africans' plight became even worse in 1958 when General Abboud seized power as President of the Sudan in a bloodless coup d'état. His military régime pursued a strict policy of Arabisation and Islamisation. Christian missionaries were expelled, Arabic was made the sole national language, and 1,500,000 Arabs were settled in the predominantly African South.

When this settlement scheme became known in the South, it was immediately opposed by

the African people there. In 1962, the Sudan African National Union (SANU) was established abroad and has since fought its cause through many appeals and petitions to international organisations.

The activity abroad of the southern Sudanese politicians, the Presse article says, led to increased repression at home. Villages were burned down and plundered, and their inhabitants — men, women and children — were murdered.

These horrors led to the founding of a movement called Anya'nya in 1963. This is the name of a deadly venom obtained by grinding the dried head of a cobra to a fine powder.

The guerrillas who had been in existence since 1955 were reorganised by Anya'nya into a more efficient fighting force.

In 1964, General Abboud's military régime fell, and the general secretary of SANU, William Deng, who was murdered last year in Khartoum, returned to the central government along with other exiled politicians.

This marked the beginning of deep splits within the ranks of the African opposition.

In 1965, Joseph Oduha unified various rival groups of southern Sudanese politicians in the Anya'nya Liberation Front (ALF). But in 1967 a so-called "provisional government" was founded in the southern Sudan without the co-operation of the ALF, and in 1968 it began calling itself the "Nile Provisional Government".

This move was strongly opposed by Oduha. He and Joseph Lagu, Anya'nya leader in Equatorial Province, soon assembled a dis-

ciplined force, which they called the Anya'nya National Organisation (ANO).

Since then the movement to set up an African State in the southern Sudan has been divided into two main groups: the Nile Provisional Government and the ANO. A third group, the United Sudanese African Liberation Front, was formed in Congo-Kinshasa in March, 1970. It aims at achieving an African-ruled Sudan cut off from international Arab influence.

The President of the Nile Provisional Government is Gordon Mayen, former Minister of Labour in Khartoum.

This "government" has declared the three provinces of the southern Sudan independent of Khartoum and called them the "Nile Republic". Its "parliament" meets in a mud hut deep in forest country. So far it has not been discovered by the Arabs. The most secret parliament in the world sounds like a tragic-comedy, but the actors are in deadly earnest, says the *Presse* article.

The military arm of the Nile Government is the Anya'nya National Armed Forces (ANAF).

The other main group, the ANO, has no civilian organisation. It is purely military and is critical of members of the Nile Government.

The territory of the southern Sudan is twice the size of the German Federal Republic. It is mostly a malaria-infested, humid country of forest and dense scrubland in which snakes and wild animals abound.

The small towns in the South, which are strongly fortified against Anya'nya attack, are now inhabited only by Arabs, the Africans having fled for fear of further persecution.

In the bush, Anya-nya law prevails. This area is too big and too unwieldy for the Arab government troops to be able to control it entirely. For their part, the Africans are too weak, too under-nourished and too ill-equipped in arms to be able to fight Khartoum on their own for independence. Their efforts have had relatively little effect on the superior government forces.

But they do keep a professional army of more than 10,000 men pinned down by guerrilla harassment. This includes blowing up bridges and roads, attacking road convoys and ships on the Nile, and disrupting the rail link between Khartoum and other centres.

The authorities in Khartoum strike back, of course. "They (the Arabs) usually come in the grey dawn, surround a village, and throw firebrands on the thatched roofs", says Joseph Oduha. "The inhabitants flee in panic from this burning hell straight into the hands of the Arabs, who torture, rape and murder this easy prey — mostly women, children and the sick".

The men usually live in the bush, fighting or training to fight, and they leave farming to the women and children in the few areas which are still cultivable. Wherever the Arabs

find traces of African settlements, they burn everything to the ground again, the *Presse* article says.

This is why so many southern Sudanese have fled their homeland. Many more have died of hunger.

Legally there is no racial discrimination in the Sudan. However, according to the Austrian newspaper article, the Arabs, who have been the ruling class for generations and in the past kept Africans as slaves, still regard the African population in the South as a second-class people.

"They have made the Sudan into an Arab State", says Joseph Oduha bitterly. The Africans must either humble themselves or be "rooted out".

Military aid, says the newspaper article, flows in freely from Moscow to the Arab authorities in Khartoum. Russian MiG aircraft bombard southern Sudanese villages, and the Sudanese army gets special training from Soviet military advisers.

Spokesmen for the Nile Government and for the ANO both spoke to the writer of the *Presse* article in East Africa recently.

Stephen Lamm, of the Nile Government, said: "Does not God say that all men are born free and equal? But the Arabs will never recognise us as equal beings. They will never give the South a chance to develop economically, socially and educationally. For our part, we will not be put off with a compromise. For us there is nothing less than full independence".

Joseph Oduha spoke for ANO: "We shall carry on fighting a guerrilla war until something decisive happens in the political arenas of the world, perhaps in the Middle East".

Lasse Jensen, Africa correspondent of Denmark's national radio station, recently visited the Sudan and wrote about that country in an article published by the Stockholm *Dagens Nyheter*. This Liberal daily newspaper, founded over a hundred years ago, is one of neutral Sweden's most authoritative publications.

The article said: "Since the *coup d'état* last year (the one which brought Major-General Nimeiri to power at the head of a left-wing régime) the number of Egyptian advisers, experts, diplomats and soldiers has increased from a few hundreds to about 10,000".

The article also said that Russian economic advisers in Sudan's Finance Ministry were thought to have planned the recent nationalisation measure, and Bulgarians had helped train the Sudanese army.

Recent Soviet aid to the Sudanese forces included the supply of MiG-21 fighter aircraft suitable for anti-guerrilla operations in the South.

The Sudan is not the only country in Africa torn by racial conflicts involving Arabs. The Libyan Government is assisting a small group of would-be secessionist in Chad, and the Syrian and South Yemeni Governments are aiding a similar bloody attempt at secession in the Eritrean Province of Ethiopia.

November 20, 1970

## SUDAN CIVIL WAR HOTS UP AGAIN

CPYRGHT

(By an East Africa correspondent)

Sudanese Government troops are currently carrying out large-scale operations against southern dissidents. This was revealed by the Sudanese Defence Minister, Major-General Khaled Hassan Abbas, at a news conference in Khartoum on November 8.

The resumption of military action against the Anyanya and other Africans in the southern Sudan followed hard on the end of the amnesty in the South in mid-October. It also represents an admission that the Muslim Arab rulers in Khartoum have given up hope of a peaceful settlement of the civil war.

Since this was the main promise of the military government which seized power in May last year, it came as no surprise to hear the Sudanese authorities accuse foreigners of interfering in the south. But a new departure was an implied parallel between the 15-year-old Sudanese civil war and the abortive secessionist rebellion in Eastern Nigeria, which ended last January. The Defence Minister spoke at his conference about foreign military experts helping the dissidents, claiming that one of them had also served on the secessionist side in the Nigerian war.

He then said: "The armed forces in the South have been instructed to carry out active wide-scale operations to strike at the camps of the outlaws. These positions have, in fact, been hit with success."

He gave details of an attack on the Anyanya headquarters at Moroto in Equatorial Province. He said the camp included an airstrip. Three other Anyanya camps had been destroyed, he said.

General Abbas recalled that neighbouring nations had signed agreements barring passage of southern Sudanese dissidents across their borders. "Some of these States, which we believe suffer from direct or indirect pressure by the imperialist forces, have not fully implemented these agreements," he said.

The official statement on the resumption of full-scale military action in the South can only widen the rift between Arabs and Africans which is at the root of the Sudanese civil war.

East Africans who have been following the development of the war resent the charge that they are the dupes of imperialism, and the implication that the conflict is akin to the recent secessionist war in Nigeria.

Ever since the present Khartoum government came to power in May last year, the governments of neighbouring countries have sought to facilitate the return of

CPYRGHT

southern Sudanese to their homes. This was done after the Khartoum rulers gave promises that they were determined to introduce social and development programmes to improve the southerners' lot.

In fact, the southern programme never got underway, and the government's policies have become even more discriminatory in the favour of the Arab section of the population.

The Sudanese authorities have also strengthened their links with the United Arab Republic, the Soviet Union and East European countries. Since last year's coup d'état the number of Egyptian economic and military personnel in the Sudan has risen from two or three hundred to at least 9,000.

Bulgarians have been training the Sudanese forces, and Soviet officials advise government departments. Recent Russian military assistance to the Sudan included the provision of MiG fighter planes suitable for use against guerrillas.

The Sudanese civil war began in 1955 with a local revolt by African southerners angered by the central government's economic neglect of their homeland and by racial persecution.

A few years later, during the régime of ex-President Abboud, Arabic was made the sole official language of the nation, well over a million Arabs were settled in the African South, and Christian missionaries were expelled.

It is estimated that nearly a million people, including defenceless women and children, have been killed in the war since it began 15 years ago.

NEW YORK TIMES  
November 9, 1970

CPYRGHT

### Rebels Seek U.N. Aid

Two delegates of the black Africans of the Southern Sudan have arrived in New York to ask the United Nations for help against their Arab-dominated Government in Khartoum, which they accuse of "genocide."

Brian Maggot, who left the area a month ago, said that increased pressure by the Government was creating crisis conditions for southern "liberation movement." He said that as recently as Oct. 5 the liberation forces were driven from a base area at Morta, southwest of their main city, Juba.

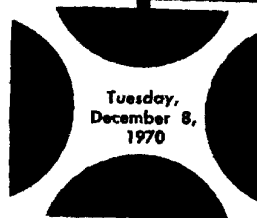
With Mr. Maggot is Lawrence Wolwol, a young man with

a degree in economics from the University of Fribourg in Switzerland.

They claim to represent the Southern Liberation Front formerly known as the Sudan provisional government or the Nile provisional government.

"Our mission is to try to interest the United Nations in the fate of four million Africans in the Southern Sudan who have been subjected to Arab colonial rule," Mr. Wolwol said. "We want to arouse sympathy also in American public opinion."

He said that the government was bombing and burning villages, destroying food crops and harrassing those who work on the land.



# Minnesota Daily

Vol. 72

Minneapolis - St. Paul, Minnesota

No. 70

CPYRGHT

## Black Sudan leader decries Arab atrocities

CPYRGHT

The deputy commander of the "Anyanya" (snake venom) guerrilla movement of Southern Sudan said yesterday his movement seeks to resist Arab colonialization and bring the Arabs to the negotiating table.

Frederick Brian Maggot, a former captain in the Sudanese Armed Forces, is in the United States at the head of a Southern Sudanese delegation to New York to present a petition of its struggle to the United Nations. He held a news conference yesterday in Murphy Hall.

A LITTLE KNOWN civil war is raging between Arabs and blacks of the Republic of Sudan. The war, which began in 1956 when He said African institutions were swiftly substituted with Islamic institutions by decree and this precipitated the exodus of Africans to neighboring African states of Uganda, Congo and Kenya.

Maggot said Libyan and Egyptian regulars are now fighting with Sudanese forces to suppress his people.

"Black Africans are being used for target practice in readiness for their (Arab) struggle with Israel," he said.

Sudan became independent from Britain and Egypt, has claimed more than one million lives (mostly blacks). About 500,000 blacks have fled to neighboring African states from Sudan.

Maggot said the conflict in Sudan is racial, religious, economic and political:

"Racial because the Arabs still regard the black Africans as slaves, religious because the war is between the Arab Moslems and African Christians, economic because black Africans in Sudan have no opportunity and political because no African is holding any significant position in the Sudanese government.

"WE HAVE TRIED constitutional methods," Maggot said. "The result was a military government formed to suppress us and eliminate the African elite."

# St. Paul Pioneer Press

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1970

THIRTEEN

## 2 Sudans' Coexistence

CPYRCHT

### Said 'Not Very Likely'

By BILL RIEMERMAN  
Staff Writer

Northern and Southern Sudan are never likely to co-exist harmoniously as one nation, Fredric Maggott, deputy commander of the Southern Sudan guerrilla army, said in the Twin Cities Monday night.

Both parts of the Sudan are now and have been one country for 14 years — on the map. But efforts to maintain this situation from the capital of Khartoum and opposition from the people of the south has resulted in the loss of more than a million lives through starvation, warfare and other deprivations, according to Maggott.

Maggott was in the Twin Cities after delivering a plea and petition to the United Nations. He asked that a U.N. committee make an on-the-spot investigation of conditions in Southern Sudan and that the International Red Cross and other agencies be allowed to bring medicines and food to the people of Southern Sudan.

Efforts of Northern Sudan leaders to impose their rule on the south is unworkable, Maggott said.

"We are not Arabs like the northerners as you can see," he said. "We are black Africans."

Northern Sudanese, he explained, are mostly Arabs and Islamic by religion.

"They look for Arab unity and union with Egypt, Libya and Syria," he said. "Where does this leave us. We look toward black Africa."

Maggott noted that there has been traditional and historical enmity between the north and south Sudanese.

The problem in the Sudan started in the mid-1950s when the British moved out and granted independence. The northern Sudan with a population of about 9 million and greater training in government and administration immediately dominated the four million black Sudanese in the south and rebellion became apparent almost instantly, Maggott said.

This brought a cycle of repression and rebellion which has been known as the "Quiet War" and has resulted in the million deaths mentioned earlier and 300,000 refugees to neighboring African countries.

Maggott is the deputy commander of the major guerrilla force known as Anya-Nya (named after venom extracted from the cobra).

He says the Anya-Nya, sometimes translated as the African Liberation Army, numbers about 45,000. Not all of them bear arms and the guerrilla army has the full support of the South Sudanese population, he added.

The North Sudanese government operates a number of garrisons in southern villages and cities and has about 25,000 troops tied up in the south, Maggott said.

"They are supplied with arms from China and the Soviet Union," Maggott says, "and they also have MIG jets and helicopters."

Our people have fought them with bows, spears and arrows and arms captured in raids and we will continue to do so until we get freedom."

Maggott was in the Twin Cities to consult with Dominic Mohamed, candidate for a doctorate at the University of Minnesota, who is president of the Southern Sudanese Students Association in the United States.

CPYRGHT

## Sudan Negroes Battle for Government Reins

Russians and Israelis Provide Arms  
in Struggle Which Has Killed 500,000

BY REUBEN SLONIM

Exclusive to The Times from the Toronto Telegram

The struggle of Negroes against Arabs in the Sudan has produced half-a-million black casualties (the southern Sudanese say a million) and displaced many more.

Yet no one seems to care about civil strife in the Sudan. The Western world ignores it; the mass media rarely pay attention to it. Even Africa's independent countries, quick to protest racial injustice in white-ruled Africa and in fast-flung countries outside the continent, are strangely insensitive.

Only the Russians and the Israelis see advantages in intervening on opposite sides.

I know little about the Sudan, where the military now rules, except that I have nourished the newspaperman's dream of chugging slowly in a houseboat up the Nile to its headwaters.

It would probably yield little to be in Khartoum, the capital, where foreigners are prohibited from venturing beyond a 10-mile radius of the city. A few reporters have penetrated the bush in the southern provinces, but their accounts are fragmentary.

### Firsthand Report

One man does speak about the overlooked war in the Sudan with authority and firsthand testimony. He is the source of much of the material in this article. He has just come to one of Canada's universities as a visiting professor after six years in that country.

He has followed closely the bloody struggle of the African south Sudan against the Arab north. His identity cannot be disclosed because it would compromise leaders in the resistance movement.

His news is that the blacks of the Sudan are no longer fighting for secession from the Arab-dominated government in Khartoum, but will settle for nothing less than a Khartoum government that reflects the Negro majority.

For the first time in more than a decade of conflict, the Negroes have united in their struggle against the so-called Arabs (racially a mixture of Nubian, Arab and Negro). They point to the 1956 Sudanese census which revealed that only 39% of the population was Arab in origin, although 50% claimed Arabic as their mother tongue. My informant has evidence that even these figures bear an Arab bias. Since the Negroes are the majority, they want majority status in determining government policy.

### Minority in Control

Yet the Arab minority has controlled the economic and social development of the country in the last 15 years. The present government of Jaafar Numeiri continues the policy of forced Islamization and Arabization introduced by former military regimes, especially in the three southern provinces where Christianity has gained a foothold.

In Sudanese Arab eyes, the church is a Western pressure group, an imperialist-colonialist body dedicated to the establishment of southern secession and the defiance of government policy. All missionaries in the south—231 Roman Catholics and 51 Protestants—have been expelled and 250 mission schools closed.

Churches have been burned and southern students made to take examinations in Arabic, though

they were more comfortable in English, the language of their schools.

While all this seems like a holy war by the Moslem and Arab-oriented northerners against the predominantly Christian southerners, it is only part of a wider canvas.

### Outrages Cited

In an attempt to subjugate the southern region, the Sudanese army burned scores of villages, held hundreds of women as concubines, enlisted the population for forced labor squads, and sent southern politicians to be jailed in the north.

The inhabitants of the gutted villages often flee into the bush to build secret communities where they plant cassava, beans and sweet potatoes, hoping to harvest the crops before they are discovered by the military.

Sometimes black captives are tortured to reveal the location of these forest villages, which are then burned and the crops destroyed. If the villagers agree to cooperate, they are moved into government-operated "peace villages," where they are clothed and fed.

Massacres usually become part of the folklore of African resistance movements, and the Sudan is no exception. My informant claims that 1,400 Negroes were killed by government troops in a single night of slaughter in Juba, the capital of the southern province of Equatoria.

A mission teacher tells of another night of terror in Wau, the capital of Bar El Ghazal province, when soldiers broke up a wedding party, lined up 50 men and shot them.

### Arabs Deny Deaths

The Arabs deny these counts and dispute the figures of atrocities, but the fact remains, according to my informant, that few Negro families in the south can claim they have been untouched by bloodshed.

Free-lance American reporter David Robison, who spent more than a month in the southern Sudan bush last summer, says that most of the half-million casualties are not due to atrocities or MIG attacks (Arab northerners get Russian arms) but to the absence of medicines.

As with the ill-fated resistance movement in Biafra, relief agencies, such as the Roman Catholic Caritas, strive to stem the tide of child mortality, but inaccessibility and isolation in the bush make their task a heartbreak.

By 1964, the Negro guerrilla movement in the south, Anyanya (a dialect name for strong poison), became the military wing of the rebels, harassing police and military posts. These attacks triggered

By 1967, the Negro movement developed into an underground black power organization which spread to all parts of the Sudan and even infiltrated the police and the army.

This African Sudan Assn. planned a coup in Khartoum for May, 1969, but was circumvented in the grab for power by a group of army officers under Numeiri, who overthrew the regime of Mohammed Mahgoub instead and still governs the country.

CPYRGHT

About 50 members of the ASA now are in prison, but its most influential leader, Anglican priest Philip Abbas Ghaboush, and a few followers escaped and now are working from bases in neighboring countries to aid the rebellion in the south.

Numeiri has just entered into an agreement with the leaders of Egypt and Libya to work toward a tripartite federation. The three contiguous states could become a considerable force in the Middle East and even on the world stage where the new federation would rank seventh in area and 14th in population.

#### Three Strengths

Libya has the oil, Egypt a reservoir of technological talent, and the Sudan the surplus agricultural land needed to feed the rapidly proliferating Egyptians. Thus Numeiri's hand against the blacks is strengthened.

While the way to full tripartite unity is strewn with obstacles, the proposed new federation does pose a potential long-range threat to Israel and to other Arab states, particularly the conservative monarchies.

Numeiri, in company with President Anwar Sadat of Egypt and Muammar Gaddafi of Libya, professes Arab socialism. This, in turn, has brought him support from the Soviet Union and East Germany.

The Russians and the East Germans now have a role in the training of the army and secret police, and Egyptian army and air force units are stationed in the Sudan. The Egyptians have also built a military academy on the outskirts of Khartoum.

#### Israel Assistance

These international cross-currents have brought Israel into the Sudanese civil war. The Israelis send arms to the southern Negroes and render help in other ways to civilian blacks.

It has always been Israeli policy to outflank the Arab League (Sudan is a member) through the development of close economic ties with newly independent states of Africa. At present, Jerusalem is working on cooperative industrial, scientific and agricultural projects with every one of the Sudan's non-Arab neighbors — Chad, Central African Republic, Congo, Kinshasa, Uganda, Kenya and Ethiopia.

It is in Israel's interest for Egyptian troops to be committed more deeply in the Sudan. Sudanese army units now are helping in the defense of the Arab side of the Suez Canal. More Egyptians and Sudanese tied up in the fight against the southern rebels means less pressure from the Egyptian side of Suez.

#### Neighbors Aloof

Another interesting aspect of the Sudanese war is that the neighboring states are noncommittal toward it. As with the trouble between Nigeria and Biafra, the Organization of African States is diffident about a movement that would serve the further fragmentation of the African continent. The Negro states play the conflict down, though their own black brethren are involved, simply because they fear it might set an example to dissident factions in their own territories.



December 25, 1970

CPYRGHT

## South Sudanese Pressing UN Hearing on Persecution Charge

By Kathleen McLaughlin  
UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. (NC)  
— Two emissaries from the South Sudan Liberation Front have been trying for the past several weeks to offer testimony before some committee of the United Nations on the alleged persecution of South Sudanese.

The two claim that religious, racial and political persecution has been imposed on their people by the predominantly Arab and Moslem government at Khartoum, the Sudan's capital, for more than eight years. The South Sudanese are black Africans, and a great many of them are Christians.

Since the Sudan gained independence in 1956, the government — dominated by Arab northerners — has been trying to unify the country by imposing the Moslem religion and the Arab language on the southerners. Guerrilla warfare broke out in the south, and thousands of southerners were killed while thousands more sought refuge in neighboring countries. Christian schools were closed and most missionaries expelled.

The two black spokesmen, Frederick B. Maggott and Lawrence Wol Wol, are intense and articulate about the factors responsible for the ordeal they and their compatriots have endured for so long.

The Arabs in the north, they asserted, are committed to the creation of an Islamic republic of the Sudan, in a socialist or Communist guise, and to eliminating the Christian leadership among the southern population.

In the south, they added, the black citizens want greater autonomy, with adequate representation in the national parliament. They have not sought to become independent because they believe that the Sudan will be

stronger economically and socially as a single unit, the two said.

Both men are aware of the prescription in the United Nations charter against interference in the internal affairs of any member state. They said they understand that to present their case against their own government, they must enlist the good offices of some neighboring nation. To date, no African delegation has been willing to assume the hypersensitive role of accuser.

Nevertheless, they maintained, genocidal operations being conducted against the blacks in the south have reached the stage at which human lives and rights are being destroyed on such a scale that, if left unchecked, they may decimate the population there.

Since 1962, they said, nearly one million southern Sudanese men, women and children have perished either through famine and disease, or have been killed by bombs or gunfire. Another 300,000 — including many of the intelligentsia — are living as refugees in Uganda, Kenya, the Congo, Ethiopia and the Central African Republic, they said.

Those remaining exist in an atmosphere of terror, hiding in tropical forests and the mountains, or under threat of sudden military attacks by the army, they added.

"Soviet-supplied MIG's and helicopters are using fire bombs and rockets to strafe villages there," the two said.

"In the last six months villages in the Upper Nile and Equatoria province have been badly bombed, killing people and livestock; and in the past eight weeks the towns of Morta and Ido were destroyed through bombings and attacks by armored cars."

Maggott and Wol Wol described their area as one in which social services have ceased to exist. The economy has been shattered, they asserted; hospitals and schools have either been razed, or turned into military installations, and not a single development program has ever been launched there, with either national or external backing.

Maggott and Wol Wol said that the rigors to which southern Sudanese have been subjected by their northern Arab rulers have cemented resistance among the great majority of the 4 million Africans of the south, despite the divergences that exist.

Wol Wol, who heads the active resistance faction known as Anya-Anyas, said that a few years ago only guerilla tactics could be used and active fighters had to find refuge outside the towns, but that today sympathy for them has grown along with their numbers.

They are now able to find shelter in various communities and to fight back as attacks are made, he said. Additional weapons have been acquired from successful sorties against Arab outposts, and some 400 Arab troops have been killed in the past few months.

Maggott, who is a Catholic, recalled that all foreign clergymen had been expelled from the Sudan in 1964. Native clergy serving the 750,000 Christians in the south have in many cases been terrorized into nonresistance to the Khartoum government, he said. Both Christians and non-Christians have developed a greater unity in their will to resist the northerners, Maggott said.

Outside the United Nations enclave, the visitors have been given opportunities they have so far been denied inside.

They have told their story on television and radio programs; have spoken to a number of organizations in the New York area, and, before leaving in late December, will have addressed audiences in Minnesota, Ohio, New Hampshire and other parts of the country.

# Sovjet har sitt Vietnam

## Krigen i Syd-Sudan i en ny og alvorlig fase

De helt siste meldinger fra borgerkrigen i Syd-Sudan kan tyde på at den er gått inn i en ny og alvorligere fase. Khartoum-regjeringen har satt igang en voldsom offensiv med bombefly, helikoptre, napalm og motorisert infanteri for «engang for alle» å knuse de sorte opprørere og gerilja-organisasjonen Anya-Nya. Denne stor-offensiven, som dirigeres av sovjetiske «rådgivere», ble satt igang i midten av september måned i år, fremgår det fra flere kilder.

Av GUNNAR MOE

Taktikken synes å være klar: Russiske bombefly i store svinger går til systematisk bombing av jungelen hvor opprørerne skjuler seg. Det benyttes både napalm og vanlige bomber. Derefter kommer araberne med tanks, infanteri, fallskjermtropper og helikoptre, som bl.a. sørger for hurtig fremføring av materiell. Jungelen skal «finkjemmes». Bak det hele følger så russiske militære rådgivere.

Slik begynte det også i Vietnam —

Flyene som brukes er de russiske MiG-21 og Antioff bombefly, samt helikoptertypen Mi-8. Den britiske avisen *The Daily Telegraph* melder senest 17. oktober at ytterligere 27 russiske bombefly er ankommet til Khartoum flyplass for overlevering til det sudanesiske luftvåpen. I 2 og en halv måned har nu den siste offensiven vart — mens verden får vite lite om det blodbadet som nu finner sted dypt der inne i bushen ved Nilens kilder.

Regjeringen i Khartoum forsøker heller ikke lenger å skjule at det pågår kamper i syd. Den 9. november holdt forsvarsministeren, general Khaled Hassan Abbas, en pressekonferanse der han bl.a. fortalte at regjeringsstyrkene hadde erobret fire opprørs-baser og to landingsstriper for fly, som opprørerne brukte for å frakte inn våpen, medisiner og mat. Det var også beslågt store mengder militært utstyr, anti-luftskyta, miner, bombekastere og maskingeværer hevdet Abbas. Rapporter om dette er gjengitt bl.a. i den franske avisen *Le Monde*, som er kjent som meget etterrettelig. Den britiske avisen *Evening Standard* melder også at «ca. 60 sovjetisk-utstyrte, og i stor utstrekning også sovjetisk-bemannede MiG-21 jetfly nu er stasjonert ved byen Juba», hovedstaden i den sydligste provinsen, Ekvatoria.

Ifølge *The Associated Press* skal general Abbas også ha ut-

talt at meget av det militære utstyr som ble funnet, var produsert i USA, og Israel, og at hans styrker nu hadde «knekket ryggraden på opprørerne».

Den sudanesiske minister for Syd-Sudan, Joseph Garang, har i en artikkel i en sudanesiske avis nylig bekreftet at det skjer en stadig opptrapping av krigen i de tre sydlige provinser, og han anbefaler at det må settes inn et sterkere militært press fra Khartoum.

Sovjets aktive tilstedeværelse i Sudan er ikke tilfeldig. Russerne håper å sikre seg et solid militært og politisk fotfeste i landet, og på samme måte som de støttet sentral-regjeringen i Nigeria under konflikten med Biafra, har de nu ingen skrupler med å hjelpe statsminister Mimiry i Sudan til å knuse de anti-kommunistiske, kristne og sorte opprørere i syd. Sudan er dessuten allerede så godt som en kommunistisk stat — der regjeringen har kontroll over alt — unntatt de tre provinsene i syd.

Problemet er bare å få gjort «jobben så diskret som mulig». All den publisitet som nu begynner å følge i borgerkrigens spor, behager Khartoum særdeles ille, noe de selv innrømmer.

### UD's KILDER

Det norske utenriksdepartement er flere ganger i år blitt forespurt om hva man akter å gjøre med det som skjer i Syd-Sudan, eventuelt om saken bør

tas opp i FN. Svaret har hele tiden vært at det har vært et sted en betydelig bedring av forholdene i Syd-Sudan.

Saken ble som kjent også tatt opp i den siste utenriksdebatten i Stortinget, men utenriksminister Stray svarte bl.a. at det «ikke ville være riktig å fremstille situasjonen bevisst verre enn den er etter de saklige informasjoner som er innhentet fra en rekke hold.

Nu spør vi igjen: Hvilke er UD's kilder? Hvor har de vært for å kunne skaffe seg «saklige informasjoner? Det er viktig å få vite dette nu — eftersom en lang rekke internasjonalt anerkjente presseorganer, journalister og nyhetsbyråer hevder det stikk motsatte av det som det norske UD's kilder hevder.

Approved For Release 1999/09/02 : CIA-RDP79-01194A000300070001-6

Translated into English in

LIBERIAN STAR, Monrovia

February 22, 1971

# The Soviet Union Has Its Vietnam

CPYRGHT

**THE most recent reports on the civil war in South Sudan could indicate that it is entering a new and more serious phase. The Khartoum government has begun an intensive offensive with bombers, helicopters, napalm and motorized infantry to "once and for all" crush the large rebel and guerrilla organization Anya-Nya. This great offensive, which is directed by Soviet "advisers", was begun in the middle of September this year according to several sources.**

The tactic appears to be clear: the Russian bombers in great sweeps systematically bomb the jungle where the rebels are hiding. They use both napalm and ordinary bombs. After that, the Arabs come with tanks, infantry, parachute troops and helicopters, which, among other things, provide for the speedy delivery of materials. The jungle is "thoroughly combed". Behind all this, the Russian military advisers then follow.

This is the way it also began in Viet Nam.

The aircraft which is used is the Russian MiG-21 and Antinoff bombers, as well as MI-8 helicopters. The British newspaper **The Daily Telegraph** reported on 17 October that an additional 27 Russian bombers had ar-

rived at the Khartoum airport for delivery to the Sudanese air force. For two and a half months, the latest offensive has been going on, while the world is very little informed about the blood bath which now is taking place deep in the bush at the source of the Nile.

The government in Khartoum no longer attempts to conceal that a battle is being waged in the south. On 9 November, the defense minister, General Khaled Hassan Abbas, held a press conference in which he told, among other things, that the government forces had captured four rebel bases and two landing strips for aircraft, which the rebels used to move in arms, medicine

BY  
GUNNAR MOE

and food. Large quantities of military equipment, anti-aircraft guns, mines, mortar and automatic rifles were also seized, said Abbas. Reports about this were carried in, among others, the French newspaper **Le Monde**, which is known as very reliable. The British newspaper **Evening Standard** also reported that "about 60 Soviet-equipped and to a great extent also Soviet-manned MiG-21 jet aircraft now are stationed at the town of Juba", the capital of the most southerly province, Equatoria.

According to The Associated Press, General Abbas also stated that much of the military equipment which was found was produced in the US and Israel and that his forces now had "broken the backbone of the rebels."

In an article in a Sudanese newspaper, the Sudanese minister for South Sudan, Joseph Garang, recently

confirmed that a constant escalation of the war is taking place in the three Southern provinces and he recommended that greater military pressure must be exerted from Khartoum.

The active presence of the Soviets in Sudan is not accidental. The Russians hope to secure for themselves a solid military and political foothold in the country, and in the same way as they supported the central government in Nigeria during the conflict with Biafra, they now have no scruples about helping Prime Minister Nimeiry in Sudan to crush the anti-communist, Christian and black rebels in the south. Besides, Sudan already is as good as a communist — the government there has control of everything — except the three provinces in the south.

The problem is only to get "the job done as discreetly as possible." All the publicity which now begins to follow in the tracks of the civil war, does not particu-

lary please Khartoum, some thing they themselves admit.

Several times this year, the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been asked about what they intend to do with what is occurring in South Sudan, if the matter eventually should be taken up in the UN. The whole time, the answer has been that a significant improvement has taken place in the conditions in South Sudan.

As is known, the matter was also taken up in the last debate on foreign affairs in the Storting (Parliament), but the Foreign Minister Stray answered, among other things, that it "would not be correct to deliberately port-

ray the situation as being worse than it is according to the factual information which is obtained from a number of sources.

Now we ask again: What are the sources of the Foreign Ministry? Where have they been in order to obtain "factual information"? It is important to know this now — since a long line of internationally recognized press organs, journalists and news bureaux claim the exact opposite of that which the Norwegian Foreign Ministry sources maintain.

AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL

December 18, 1970

## Sudan and Ethiopia: Two lots of rebels

CPYRGHT

The newly announced plans for a political union of the Sudan with Egypt and Libya, while still something of an unknown factor in the Arab world itself (see AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL, Vol. 11, No. 24, p. 2), nevertheless could bring Arab assistance to the Khartoum regime in its struggle against the black rebels in the Southern Sudan. But the union may also add fresh fuel to the rebellion in the Ethiopian province of Eritrea—where conditions have been deteriorating. A state of emergency was announced this week.

**SUDAN.** The Sudanese government is facing increasing difficulty in its southern provinces. The Anyanya rebels have large elements of the Sudanese army tied down in the provinces of Upper Nile and Equatoria—especially Equatoria—and apparently, neither side is making much headway. The fighting has been spreading in both provinces and the Anyanya have been getting new supplies of light arms. Of even more significance, they are reported to have a growing number of people trained to use such arms effectively. The Sudanese claim the Anyanya are being trained by Israelis based in Ethiopia (which we doubt). But the Anyanya are getting some outside assistance. So far, the assistance seems to come from a variety of private sources. There are indications, however, that some of this is being supplied by former "Biafran" sources, and some of the mercenaries who fought for Biafra are involved.

Khartoum does not only have the southerners to worry about. Other black groups in the country, who have long been denied the privileges of the Arab establishment, are beginning to grow restive and there is growing unrest in the Nuba Mountains, in Dufur, and among the Fung in the Eastern Sudan. Some ob-

servers believe that a majority of the Sudanese population is now arrayed against the Khartoum regime. The Nubas, from whom a large part of the Sudanese army is recruited, are one example. Their most influential leader, *Sayed Philip Abbas*, formerly a member of the Sudan Parliament, is now in exile as a leading opponent of General El-Nimeiry's regime.

The Ansar, the followers of the late *Imam El-Hadi, El Mahdi*, who was killed by Sudanese troops a few months ago (see *AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL*, Vol. 11, No. 14), are also strongly opposed to the El-Nimeiry government. But at the moment they are disorganised as a political force, with their Imam dead and the heir-apparent, *Sayed Sadiq El-Mahdi*, in exile in Cairo. However, some of the relatives of the late Imam, encouraged by other Sudanese political figures, are trying to reorganise them. The move is reported to have the backing of *El-Sherif El-Hindi*, the former Minister of Finance, and other exiled politicians.

At present, the Khartoum regime is still managing to hang on in the South mainly because of the persistent disunity among the Anyanya and the southern politicians. The Anyanya themselves have begun to understand this problem and are trying to resolve it. How successful they will be cannot yet be assessed. The problem of unity is certainly not a new one.

If they should succeed it would be a serious setback for the Khartoum regime and one which would prejudice its chances of survival, both in the south and in Khartoum itself. A solution of the "southern problem" was one of the greatest expectations held out by the present Khartoum regime when it came to power.

In the northern Sudan, the government also faces the problem of the Sudanese branch of the Muslim Brotherhood, which has gone underground and, though numerically small, wields a growing influence among conservative Muslims. The group enjoys the support of some of the country's intellectuals and their members are to be found in all sections of the administration and the army. In spite of their small numbers, the regime sees them as a major threat, especially when the possibility of their providing leadership for other conservative elements is taken into account.

In September, the Sudanese security organisation arrested a number of people described as "important leaders of the Muslim Brothers", and there was some confidence that it had managed to crush the organisation. But the regime has now realised that this was not the case and the Muslim Brothers remain among its most potent opponents. The organisation has gone a long way towards rebuilding and extending its strength in the "Three Towns" (Khartoum, Khartoum-North, and Omdurman), where they are at the nerve centre of Sudanese life, as well as in other important centres such as Wad Medani in the Gazira region. It is significant that it is having increasing success in recruiting new members, not only among the intellectuals, but among less-well educated sections of the urban population. It is also significant that the Muslim Brothers are finding more support among the urban elements of the Ansar.

The Khartoum regime is keeping a watchful eye on neighbouring countries, some of which are becoming increasingly exasperated by what they see as Sudanese-supported subversion on their territory.

CHICAGO SUN TIMES

December 30, 1970

CPYRGHT

**Charles Bartlett**

## *A war the world ignores*

WASHINGTON — The war which the world ignores — the Arab-black, north-south struggle in the Sudan — is growing nastier and bloodier without any prospect that civilized men will intercede.

This is the sad finding by two black Sudanese emissaries, Lawrence Wol Wol and F. B. Maggott, who have beseeched Americans and United Nations officials during two months of travel to show concern for the fate of 4 million Sudanese southerners who are being exterminated by their Arab countrymen.

This is a civil war in which American blacks might be expected to rise to the support of a persecuted, Negro minority. "But it is hard," Wol Wol says, "for black Americans to take up our cause because most of them don't know what is going on. Also most of them are so pro-Arab regarding the Middle East that they are unaware that a persecuted people like the Arabs can also be persecutors."

The two men have elicited some sympathy and help from major church groups, but they have not so far managed to dent the UN's reluctance to get involved in another African civil war.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT is cautiously interested because the Sudan is plainly a key to the Russian hopes of penetrating Africa. The Kremlin's backing for the new Socialist

government in Khartoum is wholehearted. Soviet advisers in mufti are spotted through the southern provinces to direct the use of Soviet weapons against the black guerrillas.

The struggle is so one-sided that it is kept alive only by the biblical bitterness which the Sudanese blacks feel towards the Arabs. The White Nile is a weak bond between these people and the Egyptianized Moslems in the north. They fear the covetous instincts of the Egyptians and they well recall that the slave raiders in the last century were from Khartoum.

They have been repeatedly betrayed in the political dealings of the past 25 years. The British ruled the Sudan by encouraging black separatism until 1946, when they suddenly and cynically decided to appease the Egyptians who wanted a unified Sudan so that eventually they might control the whole package.

THE BLACKS' GRIEF has deepened since the Sudan won independence in 1956. A succession of military governments has tried to quash their rebellious spirit and the claim, perhaps exaggerated, is that one million of them have been killed. The new officials in Khartoum, who first talked of autonomy for the three southern provinces, have settled on a strategy of extermination with the help of Soviet helicopters.

In circumstances in which the UN feels impotent to protect human rights and the United States finds it practical to ignore the conflict, there may be no alternative to a prolonged civil struggle.

Friday, Jan. 1, 1971 THE WASHINGTON POST

CPYRGHT



*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

## Sudan: Russia's Hidden War



DEEP IN THE HILLY, high-grass country of southern Sudan, Soviet military technicians, pilots, and a growing arsenal of weapons are fighting a bloody counterinsurgency war against African tribes which has moved imperial Russian power halfway down the African continent.

This hidden war, virtually unnoticed in the West, is the latest sign of deepening Soviet penetration into the Arab states of North Africa. The Sudanese government of Gaafar al-Nimeiry, an Arab military officer before he became Prime Minister, is making increasing use of Soviet anti-insurgency tactics, weapons, and manpower in its civil war against Arab-hating Negro nationalists in the three southern provinces of the Sudan.

The Soviet Union, according to well-informed African sources, also has started building a new SAM-2 anti-aircraft missile net—this one not along the Suez Canal but near Port Sudan on the Red Sea, several

hundred miles south of the main Arab-Israeli conflict.

THE LOW-CALIBER warfare in southern Sudan is a microcosm of the main Middle East theater of operations far to the north. Thus, while Soviet technicians and weapons assist the Nimeiry government, the black tribes rebelling against Arab rule are getting similar though skimpier assistance from Israeli technicians and equipment. An average of one plane load of Israeli supplies arrives from the north each week.

The Israeli game is obvious: To encourage the black revolution against the Sudanese government and thus drain off both Soviet and Sudanese military strength from the center of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Military experts here have been watching the increasing Soviet involvement in the Sudan with intense interest and anxiety. With casualties in the thousands (innocent civilians as well as indigenous black tribesmen fighting the Soviet-backed

forces of the central government), Moscow has now supplied two squadrons of TU-16 medium bombers, half a dozen AN-24s equipped with rockets, late-model Mig-21 fighters, helicopters, artillery, and light tanks.

But the resilience of southern Negro tribes who have hated their northern Arab conquerors for generations is proving as difficult for Nimeiry and the Russians as the Vietcong insurgency has been for Saigon and the United States.

SEVERAL WEEKS ago, operating from their base area near the town of Juba, the Russians committed 100 advisors to a government offensive against the insurgents' major base along Sudan's southern border. Soviet pilots (and some Egyptians) bombed, strafed, and finally captured an airstrip—but later abandoned it. In that single action, there were nearly 1,000 casualties, mostly civilians killed in artillery and air bombardments.

What makes this hidden but bloody Soviet-backed

civil war so fascinating to the United States is what it tells about Soviet political designs on coastal East Africa from the northern tip of the Suez Canal to Sudan.

Using the Arab-Israeli dispute as its stepping stone to imperial power south and east of the Mediterranean, Moscow shows it is willing to risk resources and prestige in a local civil war for its paramount goal: Political control of East Africa and a solid foothold in the Indian Ocean.

Nor is Moscow worried about political inconsistencies in prying deep into the Arab states of Africa and the Middle East. In the Yemen civil war ten years ago, it fought on the side of left-wing nationalists. In Egypt, it rides the horse of anti-Israeli passions. In the Sudan, it is battling against a nationalist movement and for the central government in Khartoum.

But the goal in each case is the same: Soviet power and influence in the Middle East, East Africa, and the Indian Ocean.

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January 12, 1971

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## *Sudan: Europe's Hidden War—a Reply to Evans and Novak*

"Sudan: Russia's Hidden War," (Jan. 1) by columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, provokes a response because of two reasons: its *style* and *substance*. The article was peppered with phrases like "African tribes," "Negro tribes," "black tribes," "Arab-hating Negro nationalists," etc. This deliberate employment of these terms is a crude manifestation, detestable, institutionalized, European anti-Africanism. The golden age for laissez-faire European utilization of these derogatives at the expense of Africans is no more. Evans and Novak should start using the correct terms: "African peoples," "African nationalists," "African ethnic or linguistic groups"—terms that are academically valid, and politically acceptable to, and used by, Africans the world over. Such an acknowledgment does not involve loving Africans. It is just a simple, responsible journalistic conduct necessary for the improvement of race relations. Also, there are no "Arab-hating Negro nationalists," except in the writers' imaginations. It is a pact of lies. The conflict was European instigated, and they now exploit it for evil purposes. Not all conflicts arise from hatred, and the Sudanese is such one.

There are several large holes in the gentlemen's article. First, it is incorrect for them to state that the Sudanese civil war is a "hidden war, virtually unknown in the west." Euro-American elite knew the British policy in the area until 1956, when the Provisional African Administrative State of Sudan was created, and the armed revolt started. But the Euro-American masses were either totally kept ignorant of it, or mis-educated about it. Whatever information reached them was too sketchy and distorted.

Second, the exposure of growing Soviet "arsenal of weapons" in the Sudan—"2 squadrons of U-16 medium bombers, 6 AN-24s equipped with rockets, late model Mig-21 fighters, helicopters, artillery and light tanks" and approximately "100 advisers" is commendable. However, the "well-informed African sources" should have enlightened us, through our columnists, about the exact extent of Israeli and Euro-American involvement in the Sudan as well, instead of generalizing "... an average of one plane load of Israeli supplies ... each week." It is an open-secret (and it seems funny that Messrs. Evans and Novak either are ignorant of it, or ignored it) that several Israeli and other European "military advisers" in the Anyanya Armed Forces have been killed in encounters with the Sudanese forces. Money and military hardwares have been reaching the Southern Provinces from the very areas where this "hidden war" is supposedly "virtually unnoticed."

Third, while it is true that Israeli involvement encourages "The black revolution against the Sudanese government and thus drains off both Soviet and Sudanese military strength from the center of the Arab-Israeli conflict," it is not the whole story. Israel, a garrison state, cannot, by herself, achieve this desired objective due to her pressing economic and military needs at home. Hence,

the help from Euro-American countries. Furthermore, by aiding the southerners and intensifying the civil war, Israel hopes to break continental solidarity, splitting it into two hostile camps: "Black Africa" against "Arab Africa." It is aimed at breaking up the PAAS of Sudan into two PAASs: one pro-African, the other, pro-western. It is the same conspiracy tried in the Congo and Nigeria and, now in Chad and Ethiopia. In each case, the African is incidental to the European interests.

Fourth, to state that the Sudanese strife is a "bloody Soviet-backed civil war" gives the impression that it was manufactured by the Czar in Moscow. No, history refutes this. It has lasted 15 years, taken 1,035,000 southern Sudanese lives, and several hundreds of northerners. Today, nearly 500,000 refugees from these provinces—Bahr el Ghazal, Equator and Upper Nile—lead destitute lives in the neighbouring PAAS, of Chad, Centrafrique, Congo-Kinshasa, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda. This haloblastic tragedy is a direct result of 19th European imperialist partitioning policies in Africa in general, and the British "Cape-to-Cairo" grand design in particular. The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium policies and tactics in the Sudan produced the socio-political ulcers whose curative prescriptions are still unavailable. The infiltration into the southern provinces by the sententious, hypocritical Christian, self-styled missionaries to spread Christianity and western civilization added more fuel: confrontation between the followers of Christ and those of Mohammed.

Fifth, the Soviet politico-military ambitions from the Mediterranean Sea to the Indian Ocean are pretty obvious. But to the Africans, they are as dangerous as Euro-American military establishments in and around Africa: the U.S.A. in Morocco, Ethiopia, Congo-Kinshasa, the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean; the British in the Gulf of Aden, East Africa, Rhodesia, South Africa and the Indian Ocean; the French within, and around, Africa; Portugal (backed by NATO) in occupied African territories. To Evans and Novak, Africa is *there* for control; either the west maintains its domination (which is, apparently, good) or the Russians must grab it (which is, also, apparently, bad). The Africans are, politically, invisible.

Lastly, the Evans-Novak essay was highly offensive to the African community. And whereas its substance insulted the intelligence of those who are knowledgeable in the area, it also misinforms (and consequently miseducates) the innocent readers. The Vietnam and Middle East wars are convincing cases in which the facts were either withheld from the masses, or distorted in order to achieve certain questionable goals. Sudan should not be the third.

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WASHINGTON POST

February 16, 1971  
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## On "Sudan's Hidden War: European or Russian?"

I have just read the letter, "Sudan's Hidden War: European or Russian?" of Mr. Odeyo Owiti Ayaga (Jan. 12). As a party to the Afro-Arab conflict in the Sudan, and as a member of the Southern Sudan delegation to the recently closed U.N. General Assembly, I feel obliged to comment.

From 1955 to date, Northerners have slaughtered and caused death to over one million Africans in South Sudan. They have chased away over 500,000 people from their homes into the neighbouring states or into the forests and mountains of South Sudan. Yet, nobody, and no African in particular, has offered assistance to the South, or voiced out indignation. Instead, Mr. Ayaga, while claiming to write for Africa, is objecting to people who have dared to draw world attention to inhumanity and genocide in South Sudan.

Another objection concerns Mr. Ayaga's rather lighthearted reference to Soviet involvement in the conflict. The growing "Soviet arsenal of weapons in the Sudan—2 squadrons of U-16 medium bombers, 6 AN 24s equipped with rockets, late model Mig 21 fighters, helicopters, artillery and light tanks," together with over "100 advisors," is heavy enough to arouse the suspicion of any serious critic, particularly when such armament is supplied to a government that is involved in waging a war of destruction against armless racial groups of its supposed "national community." No! Instead, Mr. Ayaga wants to divert world attention to imaginary Israeli assistance to South Sudan. Hence, his most outrageous claim that "it is an open secret that several Israeli and European military advisors in the Anyanya Armed Forces have been killed in encounters with the Sudanese forces." Where and when?

Mr. Ayaga's assertion that Israel is encouraging the black revolution to create two "hostile groups" in Africa with one "pro-European" and the other "pro-Africa," is diffi-

cult to comprehend. The Arab role during the slave trade did earn them hostility in Africa. And although the European colonisation brought slavery to an end, feelings of hatred against the Arabs are still manifest in many parts of Africa today, as they are against the Europeans who took slaves across the Atlantic. This is not to preach racialism. But it should be pointed out that the policies and treatment of the Africans of South Sudan by the Arab-dominated governments in Khartoum is similar to that during the slave period.

Mr. Ayaga's one-sided attack on Christianity and christian missionaries as an important element in the Afro-Arab confrontation, is equally objectionable. In the first place, he uses severe language on Christianity while remaining impervious on Islam, not even recognising the unrealistic policy pursued by successive Arab governments in Khartoum to impose Islam on the four million Africans of South Sudan. From 1957 to this very day, a State Department for Religious Affairs (Islam) has been spending public money to build mosques and koranic institutions in the South and other parts of the Sudan where Islam had no influence. This went along side with the destruction of christian churches, institutions, hospitals, maternities, and above all, the killing of African clergymen.

In the second place, and more important, in raising the conflict to be one "between the followers of Christ and those of Mohammed," Mr. Ayaga has deliberately sacrificed African religions (to which nearly three-fourths of the Southern population belong) together with African culture.

LAWRENCE WOL WOL.

Bordeaux, France.

# Sudanese say 500,000 dead in secret war

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By STAN FISCHLER  
Special to The Star

NEW YORK — A virtually unheard-of 15-year-old civil war between South Sudanese blacks and North Sudanese Arabs has left more than 500,000 dead, according to representatives of the Southern Sudan Liberation Front.

Two members of the front, who will visit Toronto tomorrow, charged in an exclusive interview with The Star that Soviet-supported Arabs backed by the government of Gaafar Al-Nimeiry were systematically exterminating black Africans in Southern Sudan.

## Special report

"The Arabs, who have the political and economic power, are being supported with arms from Russia," said Sudanese Col. Frederick B. Maggott at his Executive Hotel suite here. "They also are getting aid from the Egyptians, Libyans and a number of East European countries, particularly East Germany."

Maggott, 36, and his colleague, 33-year-old Wol Wol assert that Soviet "advisers" have been actively training northern forces opposed to the Southern Sudanese.

"Russia had given 18 MiG planes to them," said Maggott, "and 12 helicopters. These are being used against our people who have no planes. Most of our weapons are taken from the enemy."

African sources in Washington confirm that Moscow has now supplied two squadrons of TU-16 medium bombers, half a dozen AN-24S equipped with rockets, late-model MiG-21 fighters, helicopters, artillery and light tanks to Nimeiry.

The Sudan, with a population of about 15 million, covers 967,275 square miles, making it the biggest country in Africa. It is bounded by Egypt on the north, the Red Sea and Ethiopia on the east, Kenya, Uganda and Congo on the south and the Central African Republic, Chad and Libya on the west.

"Our people have no planes"

The pair spoke calmly and in articulate English. Wol Wol denied that the front was receiving help from Israel, but he allowed that the 4,000,000 Southern Sudanese are in great need of help.

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(Well-informed African sources in Washington say the Southern Sudanese are receiving an average of one plane load of Israeli supplies a week. The sources say Tel Aviv hopes the supplies will strengthen the south sufficiently to draw away Russian equipment and "advisers" from Egypt to prop up Nimeiry.)

## Conditions getting worse

"Conditions are getting worse all the time," Wol Wol explained. "A lot of bombing has been carried out by Egyptian pilots flying Russian MiGs. They have bombed civilians in every village. They don't even look for military centres—they simply bomb any place where there are Southern Sudanese."

In addition to the bloodshed, the Southern Sudanese have been victimized by a scorched-earth policy carved out by the Arabs, according to Maggott.

"Crops are being destroyed," he declared, "and whole areas are being made desolate, causing thousands of people to flee the country. Juba, our largest city, has gone from 200,000 people to 50,000 in the past few years."

The South Sudan delegates yesterday presented a formal petition-letter to Dr. Edvard Hambro, president of the United Nations General Assembly, in which they detailed atrocities allegedly committed against the Africans of South Sudan.

Maggott charged the Nimeiry government with engaging in a genocidal campaign resulting in the death of more than 500,000 South Sudanese killed and an estimated 500,000 dying from starvation or disease resulting from the fighting.

## Few people aware of it

"We feel this terrible war has gone unnoticed," said Wol Wol, "and that few people outside the Sudan are aware of the problem."

He cited censorship on the part of the ruling Arab government as the reason for the absence of world interest in the Sudan. "No foreign journalists are permitted in South Sudan," said Maggott. "Therefore no information leaks out."

The front aims to bring about a plebiscite in Southern Sudan, which now is part of the Unitary Republic of Sudan.

"Our ultimate objective is to give our people the right to determine their own future," said Maggott. "At first we believed in a federal union. Then the north began fighting the south with brute force so we now believe in total independence. We Africans have to be given the right to determine our own future."

The Southern Sudan began fighting in 1955. The front was organized in 1963 "to protect people from killing and to protect their property." The group charged that the "inhuman attacks on South Sudanese" increased each year and that 1,400 people were killed at Juba on July 8, 1965.

At first the front's "army" fought with primitive weapons such as bows and arrows and machetes.

"You couldn't even call it an army at that time there were small groups fighting in different areas. Now we have about 5,000 active and armed people but more than that are involved."

## 2 Sudanese Rebels, Charging Genocide, Seek Help at U.N.

ETHIOPIAN HERALD, Addis Ababa  
January 5, 1971

By MICHAEL T. KAUFMAN

Two representatives of a black Sudanese liberation movement charged here yesterday that the Arab-led Government of Sudan was using Egyptian and Libyan troops as well as Soviet planes in the 16-year conflict that has pitted Christian and pagan blacks of the South against Moslems of the north.

In what they described as an overt appeal to world public opinion, the two men described the policies carried out by the national Government in Khartoum "as genocide against the four million blacks of the Southern Sudan."

"We call upon the nations of the free world to express their indignation at what is happening and to bring pressure to bear on the nations that supply armaments to Khartoum," said Laurence Wol Wol, a Sorbonne graduate who, as a member of the Southern Sudan Liberation Front, has presented a petition to the United Nations calling for observer teams to investigate his charges of genocide.

The other spokesman, Frederick B. Maggott who identified himself as a colonel of Anyanya, the guerrilla army of the south, said that 25 Soviet-built aircraft were being used in bombardments of the southern provinces and that Libyans and Egyptians were among the 25,000 troops fighting the rebels in the south.

### Many Killings Charged

He said that in the last eight years some 250,000 black Sudanese had been shot to death and 250,000 had died of hunger. The petition presented to the United Nations by the two men details allegations of atrocities. Edward Lawson, who is in charge of dealing with such communications at the United Nations, explained that normal procedure calls for the statement to be summarized and circulated confidentially at the next meeting of the Human Rights Commission in Geneva. But under resolutions of the Economic and Social Council, he said, the Commission "has no power to take any action."

For its part, the Khartoum Government has accused outside forces of stirring rebellion and secession. "They stirred up civil wars in the Congo and Nigeria and they are trying to play the same evil game in the Sudan," said Premier Gaafar al-Nimeiry in a recent interview in Khartoum.

### Leaders Tell Press

# Libya, UAR Planes Bomb Sudanese Guerrilla Forces

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TEL AVIV, Monday, (Reuter). — Egyptian and Libyan air force planes are bombing guerrilla forces in Southern Sudan, according to two guerrillas in an interview with Israel army radio.

The interview, recorded in London, was broadcast here last night. Three provinces in Southern Sudan, they added.

The two spoke of increased Egyptian involvement in areas where local black tribesmen are opposed to the Moslem authorities in Khartoum. The men charged the Central Government with atrocities against the black population of the south.

Reports by western magazines that Israeli officers are training and advising the Sudanese guerrillas have been given "a complete and flat denial" by foreign ministry officials here.

The two guerrilla leaders — Median Digran and Adam Noual — charged Egypt with a great part in war. They said Egyptian and some Libyan planes based near the Sudanese capital were raiding guerrilla camps. Egyptian officers controlled the Sudanese military camps. Egyptian officers controlled the Sudanese military academy, they added.

The two leaders said the war in Sudan entered a new phase in July last year when main guerrilla groups joined forces. These forces now controlled

January 7, 1971

# *Africa's forgotten wars grind on*

By Frederic Hunter  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Nairobi, Kenya

Three forgotten wars rage in Africa. They enflame Chad, Ethiopia, and southern Sudan. They continue unnoticed by the outside world, pushed from thought by Africans.

Although these conflicts are strikingly similar to their own anticolonial struggles, African leaders do not regard them as threats to independent black African interests. Some leaders—with convenient simplification—consider the three insurgencies as fomented by Africa's imperialist enemies. But the conflicts are more complicated than that.

Chad, Sudan, and Ethiopia occupy a common chunk of Africa, that intermediate zone between regions populated by Semites and those peopled by blacks. The three forgotten wars resemble each other in that they involve ethnic struggle, ethnic self-realization. They spring from the desire of ethnic groups, which consider themselves oppressed, to achieve independence, autonomy, or at least a fairer share of nationhood.

## **Revolt dates from 1955**

The fighting in Sudan pits Arabs and Arabized peoples of the north, who control the central government, against blacks of the south. These blacks inhabit a region so remote that education, political self-awareness, and contacts with the outside world came too late for them to share equally in the decolonization, or rescrambling, of Africa.

The war started in 1955. Sudan, standing on the very threshold of independence, already had entered a transitional period of self-government. Northern politicians had outmaneuvered a British attempt to protect the South's special interests. At this point southerners realized that northerners would dominate them. Their resentment broke into open revolt.

Sporadic warfare has continued ever since. It takes place in flat, marshy country of tall elephant grass, sparsely populated by seminomadic cattle-tenders and subsistence farmers. It stems largely from three factors: a British colonial policy for the south which first fostered separate development, then integration with the north, and accomplished neither; a religiocultural problem; and a tendency by successive northern governments to rely on military means to solve the southern question.

The fighting in southern Sudan shows no signs of abating. In fact, the Anyanya, a guerrilla force organized in 1963 and rejuvenated in the last eight months, recently has claimed a series of successful attacks against government outposts. Fatalities of this war may number 1.5 million.

Joseph Alsop

# Russian Imperialism

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A HISTORIC TURNING point occurred about a fortnight ago in Cairo. The State Department's representative in the Egyptian capital, Donald Bergus, was received by Egypt's new president, Anwar Al Sadat. On instruction, Bergus asked President Sadat about the new naval base the Soviets are building at Mersa Matruh.

The former Egyptian line, and the former Soviet line as well, was always to pooh-pooh, to minimize, indeed to lie about the Soviet military presence in Egypt. But this time, Sadat was reasonably forthright. The Soviets, he said, had done so much for his country that Egypt could not deny them any facilities they required.

In such cases, and especially with such people, the transition from clandestinity and untruth to openness and frankness is always of very great importance. It means that a new situation, once regarded as temporary and potentially reversible, has come to be regarded as permanent and irreversible. And in this case, it means that the new Soviet imperialism has entered a quite novel phase.

The Soviet threat to Israel, only deferred by the talks that have now opened, is of course part of the pattern of this new Soviet imperialism. Recently, for instance, the chief Soviet partisan in the Egyptian junta, went to Moscow to discuss more generous military aid for Egypt. In a subsequent report to his government, Ali Sabry boasted of bringing home the bacon in a big way. The most interesting published passage in his official report was the following:

"The Soviet leaders expounded at length their assessment of the conflict in the Middle East, and its place in the world strategy of the Soviet Union."

HENCE IT IS time to give the widely ignored evidence for the quite new Soviet imperialism, which is altogether different from anything seen in the past. Since the end of the Second World War, with a single exception, the Soviets have never before sought to control territory or to obtain bases beyond the borders of their existing empire.

The exception, of course, was the attempt to emplace missiles in Cuba. Otherwise, where they have made grabs, the places grabbed for have always been territory already occupied by Soviet troops. Examples were Stalin's attempt to hang onto the Iranian province of Azerbaijan; and the two grabs for Berlin. Now, however, the rules have changed radically.

The most important signs of the change were the beginnings of construction, about six months ago, of new naval bases that will unquestionably be under exclusive Soviet control. One is the big base Bergus asked about, at the fine harbor of Mersa Matruh in the desert to the west of the Nile Delta. The other full-scale base being built is on the Socotra Islands, at the mouth of the Red Sea.

But these bases, on the standard old imperial pattern, are only the beginning of the story. On the western shore of the Red Sea, the Soviet military presence in Egypt, including Russian troops in an active combat role, is of course well known.

IN ADDITION, however, the Soviets have moved into the Sudan in a big way, taking advantage of the rebellion of the unhappy Nilotic blacks against their Arab masters in Khartoum. Besides weapons, there are even Soviet military advisers with the Sudanese units

attacking the rebels. Then too, the Soviets have an important military presence in Somaliland, just to the south of the Sudan.

On the Red Sea's eastern shore, moreover, the Soviet military role and presence is again very conspicuous in the Yemen, and also in the new state of South Yemen that was formed after the British evacuated Aden. Here, they have some competition from the Chinese Communists. But it is not effective, as indicated by the Southern Yemen's grant of the base on the Socotra Islands to the Soviets.

Besides the Mediterranean ports of Egypt and Syria, the evergrowing Soviet Navy has further acquired the right to use the Red Sea ports of all the countries above named, plus Mogadishio in Somaliland. Mrs. Bandanarake's success in Ceylon has also opened the great base of the Trincomalee to the Soviets; and they have secured "landing and fuelling rights" on the island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean.

Finally, all indications to date suggest that the Soviets are using their positions in Southern Yemen, in order to sponsor and to support a guerrilla movement in the neighboring Sultanate of Yemen. If successful, this effort will take them right around the corner of the Persian Gulf itself. In all this, the Soviet goal of ultimate control of the Middle East is only too clear. Only sleepwalkers can doubt it.

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# «Μίγκ» μέ Ρώσους πιλότους κατά τῶν ἀνταρτῶν εἰς τό Σουδάν

## ΣΟΥΔΑΝΙΚΗ ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΙΣ

ΛΟΝΔΙΝΟΝ 9.— Ἀπὸ πληροφορίας ἐκ Χαρτούμ, συνάγεται, ὅτι περὶ τὰ τέλη τοῦ παρελθόντος ἔτους, ἡ Σοβιετικὴ Ἐνωσις ἡξήσεν οὐσιαστικῶς τὴν στρατιωτικὴν τῆς βοήθειαν πρὸς τὴν σουδανικὴν κυβέρνησιν, εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς ἐναντίον τῆς μεγάλης ἀνταρτικῆς ὀργανώσεως «Ἄννα - Νύα», τοῦ Νοτίου Σουδάν.

Ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνάρξεως τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν κυβερνητικῶν δυνάμεων κατὰ τὰ τέλη τοῦ παρελθόντος Σεπτεμβρίου, ἡ ὁποία προφανῶς συνεχίζεται, σοβιετικὰ καταδιωκτικὰ καὶ βομβαρδιστικὰ ἀεροπλάνα πλῆττον τὰς βάσεις τῶν ἀνταρτῶν, μεθ' ὁμοίας συμβατικὰς καὶ Ναπαλμ, ἐνῶ Σοβιετικοὶ σύμβουλοι ἔχουν ἐνταχθῇ εἰς τὰς μονάδας τοῦ κυβερνητικοῦ στρατοῦ.

Περὶ τὰ τέλη Ὀκτωβρίου, 27 εἰσέτι σοβιετικὰ βομβαρδιστικὰ παρεδόθησαν εἰς τὸ Χαρτούμ, συμφώνως δὲ πρὸς πληροφορίας τῆς ἐφημερίδος «Ἡδίνγκ Στάνταρντ» τοῦ Λονδίνου, «περὶ τὰ 60 σοβιετικὰ «Μίγκ 21» τῶν ὁποίων οἱ χειρίζονται, κατὰ μέγα

μέρος εἰς τὰ Σοβιετικὰ, σταθμεύουν εἰς τὴν πόλιν Γζόμπα», πρῶτεύουσιν τῆς νοτιωτάτης σουδανικῆς ἐπαρχίας τοῦ Ἰσημερινοῦ.

Τὴν 9ην παρελθόντος Νοεμβρίου, ὁ ὑπουργὸς Ἀμύνης τοῦ Σουδάν στρατηγὸς Χάλεντ Χασάν Ἀμπας, ἀνεκοίνωσεν ὅτι αἱ κυβερνητικαὶ δυνάμεις ἔχον καταλάβει τέσσαρας ἀνταρτικὰς βάσεις καὶ δύο ἀεροδρόμια, εἰς τὰ ὁποία ἀεροπλάνα τῶν ἐπαναστατῶν μετέφερον ὅπλα, φάρμακα, τροφὰς καὶ μεγάλας ποσότητας στρατιωτικοῦ ὕλικου, ἥτοι ἀντιαεροπορικὰ πυροβόλα, νάρκας, δόμους καὶ αὐτόματα τυφέκια. Ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀμπας ἰσχυρίζετο τότε, ὅτι αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ «συνέτριψαν τὴν σπονδυλικὴν στήλην τῶν ἀνταρτῶν». Ἐν τούτοις, ἀργότερον, ὁ ὑπουργὸς τῆς σουδανικῆς κυβερνήσεως, ὁ ἀρμόδιος διὰ τὸ Νότιον Σουδάν, Γζόζεφ Γκάρανγκ, εἰς ἀρθρον τοῦ δημοσιευθέν εἰς τοπικὴν ἐφημερίδα, ἀνέφερεν ὅτι ὁ πόλεμος συνεχῶς ἐνετελεῖτο.

Ἡδὴ συμφώνως πρὸς νέας πληροφορίας, ἐλκικότερα τὰ ὁποία χειρίζονται Σοβιετικοὶ πιλότοι, πραγματοποιοῦν πολεμικὰς πτήσεις, ρίπτοντα ρουκέτας καὶ βόμβας ἐναντίον τῶν ἀνταρτικῶν δυνάμεων.

(16. ὧπρ.)

ELEFTHEROS KOSMOS, Athens  
January 10, 1971

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## MIG WITH RUSSIAN PILOTS AGAINST GUERRILLAS IN SUDAN

### Moscow Aids Sudanese Government

London 9. - Information from Khartoum indicates that towards the end of last year the Soviet Union substantially increased its military aid to the Sudanese government in its struggle against the large guerrilla organization "Any-Nya" of South Sudan.

From the beginning of the offensive by government forces towards the end of last September, which is apparently still continuing, Soviet fighters and bombers have been attacking guerrilla bases with conventional bombs and napalm, while Soviet advisors have been assigned to units of the government army.

Towards the end of October, 27 more Soviet bombers were delivered to Khartoum, according to information of the London "Evening Standard", and "about 60 MIG-21 Soviet planes, mostly operated by Soviets, are stationed in the city of Juba", the capital of the southernmost Sudanese province of Equatoria.

On 9 November the Sudanese Defense Minister General Halid Hasan Abbas announced that government forces had seized four guerrilla bases and two airfields where guerrilla planes brought arms, medicines and food, and a great quantity of military materiel including anti-aircraft artillery, mines, mortars and automatic weapons. General Abbas asserted that his forces had "broken the backbone of the guerrillas". Yet later the Sudanese government minister responsible for South Sudan, Joseph Garang, in an article published in a local paper, said that the war was being continuously extended.

Now according to new information, helicopters operated by Soviet pilots are carrying out combat flights firing rockets and bombs against the guerrilla forces.

# Sudan 'southern question' clings

By Frederic Hunter

Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Nairobi, Kenya

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cratic movement" which would form "part has largely succeeded in isolating the An- of the revolutionary structure of the north." yanya insurgency from the press notice its This concept of self-government clearly falls estimated fatalities would suggest it de- short of what most people regard as political serves.

Moreover, the government has not yet is understandable, it also is impractical. clearly detailed the specifics of its autonomy Apart from a war of attrition or "extermi- offer. Is there to be one southern regional nation," there probably is no other means government, for instance, or three auton- —except negotiations—to get Anyanya guer- mous provincial councils? The three-councils rillas to lay down their arms.

concept, which previous northern govern- One may question whether or not the ments have backed, appears to southerners northerners now trying to solve the south-

to work on the divide-and-rule principle. ern question actually possess the sensi- Another reason for lack of progress on the tivity, political skill, and intellectual equip- southern question is that Khartoum plainly ment to achieve a settlement. The rhetoric intends to impose, rather than negotiate, a of members of the Revolutionary Command effort to inform dissidents about its southern Council does not inspire much confidence policy; Abel Alier, Minister of Supply and Internal Trade, spoke early in 1970 about this regard.

regional autonomy to an audience at Ma- kerere University College in Kampala, Uganda, a city where many dissident Suda- nese leaders live. But the Numeiry govern- ment has never suggested negotiations.

## Risks involved

This failure is understandable. Negotia- tions would involve considerable risks for the government. They would legitimize southern spokesmen not of the govern- ment's choosing. They would involve in- creased concessions to the south.

The government could hardly enter nego- tiations with stiffer offers than it has al- ready made; meaningful negotiations would require some erosion of those positions.

Most importantly, negotiations would pro- vide southern dissidents with a platform from which to influence world opinion. Anyanya spokesmen say their organization would prefer negotiations held outside Su- dan, chaired by a neutral and attended by observers from other African states, the United Nations, and charitable organiza- tions. Some outside observers would almost certainly attend such negotiations due to a precedent set at negotiations held at Juba in 1965.

The initial Anyanya negotiating position would probably seek independence for the south, a demand not negotiable by Khar- toum. In any case, successful settlement talks would involve important compromises on both sides.

Anyanya spokesmen say they have photo- graphic evidence of atrocities committed by northern Sudanese troops against the south- ern population. At settlement talks An- yanya negotiators would almost certainly present this evidence to outside observers and the press.

It might prove extremely damaging to the Nimeri government. So far Khartoum

## Political accent

A Sudan official stresses that General Nimeri, having fought in the south, under- stands the necessity of a political, rather than a military, solution. But recent Sudan history suggests that the military mentality does not easily adapt to the demands of political settlements.

In addition, General Nimeri's interest in Arab socialist unity and the Arab cause in the Middle East raises questions about the priority which the southern problem enjoys at the highest levels of the Khartoum gov- ernment.

It also seems clear that Joseph Garang, the Minister of Southern Affairs, commands little support in the South. He is said to have stood for election in Wau, the capital of Equatorial province, three times and lost his candidacy deposit on each occasion. Moreover, he is a Marxist, a fact which causes distrust among the ten percent of the southern population which espouses Chris- tianity.

Another stumbling block on the way to- ward solution of the insurgency is Sudanese political instability. During their 15 years of national independence the Northern Su- danese have not proved adept at governing themselves. They have experienced five dif- ferent political regimes and two military coups. Thus, considerable doubt surrounds the capacity of any specific government to remain in power long enough to initiate and affect a solution to southern problems.

The Nimeri government's case illus- trates this instability. In 19 months of rule it has suffered two major attempts to topple it, one from the right, the other from the left. Moreover, General Nimeri's recent agreement to enter a union with Egypt and Libya has initiated a profound restructuring of the Sudanese state. This restructuring does not mollify southern fears of Arab and Muslim domination.

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Map: Gen. Isafar Muhammad al Nimeri and a group of fellow officers and socialists have defended their May, 1969, coup partially on the failure of civilian politicians to solve the problem of armed insurgency in south- ern Sudan.

General Nimeri promised action. He de- clared that his government was "deter- mined to arrive at a lasting solution" to the southern question.

But 9 months after the coup the main action appears to be an increase in the fighting which already has taken an esti- mated 1.5 million lives. Members of the Anyanya guerrilla organization contend that the Nimeri government recently has em- barked on a "war of extermination" against the region's black peoples.

The southern question looks as insoluble as ever.

The Nimeri government has enunciated policies which appear to improve settlement prospects. It has recognized the existence of the southern problem, the cultural and historic differences between the regions, and the right of southerners to develop their separate cultures and traditions. It has promised them regional self-govern- ment.

## Policies implemented

It has taken concrete actions to implement these policies. It has established a Ministry of Southern Affairs, headed by a southerner. It extended previously offered amnesties. It has established a special development bud- get for the south; it has set up economic planning and coordinating committees. It has extended higher education and appointed southerners to the councils of the three southern provinces.

Perhaps most importantly, it has begun to recruit southerners into the national se- curity forces. A year ago, for instance, it enrolled 17 southern officer cadets in the Military College; in the previous decade only 10 southerners had entered the college.

If this is the case, why has so little prog- ress been made toward solving the southern question?

There are a variety of reasons.

First is the sticky question of what kind of regional autonomy would be granted to the south.

Two conditions emerge from government statements. First, the autonomous southern government must be socialist. Second, south- ern political expression must channel itself through a single organization, a "demo-

## THE EVENING STAR

Washington, D. C., Wednesday, January 13, 1971

CPYRGHT

SMITH HEMPSTONE

# Zapping Anya 'Nya in the Land That God Forgot

In that torrid equatorial December of 1957, we were visiting Basil Duke at Moyo, up against the southern border of Sudan. The rains had failed that year and the elephant grass was sparse and sere, speckled with the yellow blossoms of the *talh* trees. Smoke smudged the horizon to the north; the Sudanese army was burning villages.

Duke had been British district commissioner at Yei until Sudan attained independence the previous year. At that time he had moved 90 miles south across the border into Uganda to become district commissioner at Moyo, bringing with him his library, his two Arab stallions and an entourage of Sudanese retainers. Because he had served in the southern Sudan, his compound became a gathering point for the southern Sudanese Christians and animists fleeing from the Arab soldiery.

Until the turn of the century, when the British took over Sudan, the Arabs of the north had hunted slaves for the marts of Khartoum and Medina in the marshes and grasslands of the southern Sudan. The British closed off the

area, excluded the northern Arabs and left education in the hands of missionaries, primarily Catholics. And now, with the coming of independence to Sudan, the government in Khartoum, the government of the 8 million Arabic-speaking followers of Islam, was trying to impose its will on the 4 million Christian and animist southerners. There had been heavy fighting.

At Duke's house, while we watched the smoke hanging over the burning Sudanese villages, a Christian refugee approached me.

"America is a Christian country," he said. "Surely you will help us? You will not let the Arabs kill us all."

As gently as possible, I tried to explain to him why neither the United States nor anyone else was going to help his people in their struggle to be free of an alien and distrusted government. He shook his head.

"Then only God can help us," he said.

Unfortunately, God has not helped the southern Sudanese. Now, more than 13 years later, the Sudanese army is burning and killing again, this time reportedly with the help of 100 of

the 500 Soviet advisers stationed in Sudan. Russian jets and helicopters are being used against rebel tribesmen, most of whom are armed with nothing more technologically advanced than spears.

There have been reports that as many as 500,000 southerners have been massacred that as many more have fled to the neighboring Congo, Ethiopia and Uganda. All such reports should be treated with extreme caution; they almost certainly are exaggerated. But there is sufficient evidence to suggest that something pretty horrible — something which may verge on genocide — is going on in southern Sudan, and nobody is doing anything about it. Least of all the militant blacks in this country, who have thrown in their lot with the radical Arabs, thus becoming the allies of those who are oppressing their own people.

There have been unconfirmed reports that the Ethiopians, who are Coptic Christians and have their own problems with a Moslem minority in Eritrea which is receiving help from the Sudanese government, is giving the rebels

some assistance. The Israelis, who vehemently deny it — as, of course, they would — are said to be helping the rebels as a means of diverting Khartoum's military resources and energies from the Middle East (some of the best "Egyptian" troops, particularly among the commandos, are in fact northern Sudanese). And Arab sources maintain that Americans and West Germans also are involved.

The center of the conflict appears to be in Equatoria, Sudan's southernmost province, with fighting at a lower level taking place in neighboring Bahr El Ghazal and Upper Nile provinces. The Christian-animist resistance movement, called *Anya'Nya* (the name of a deadly poison made by grinding the skull of a cobra) controls much of the countryside, at least by night; the Sudanese army controls the towns. Dinka, Nuer and Shilluk tribesmen, who consider themselves fully clothed with a daub of clay on each proud cheekbone, necessarily fade away into the bush when confronted with an armored column; but the night belongs to them.

The people pay taxes to both sides, certainly detest the northerners and may well be afraid of the *Anya'Nya*. Malnutrition, if not real starvation, is widespread, and conditions in this land that God forgot may rival those in Biafra during the worst days of its secession.

Because almost every African country has its own minority problem, none is willing to speak up for the southern Sudanese. But somehow, for humanitarian reasons alone, the killing has to be stopped. And if the United Nations is of any use, it might show it by addressing itself to this problem.



# REBELS

By John Chadwick  
 Reuter Correspondent

CPYRGHT

Juba, Southern Sudan. With the Arab-Israeli conflict stilled for the moment, Sudan's main war--the battle with rebel guerrillas--continues in the highlands and bush country on its southern borders.

In this meeting ground between the Arab world and Africa, Sudan's revolutionary soldier-president, Maj. Gen. Jaafar Nimeiry, faces his biggest and most costly internal challenge since taking power in a bloodless coup 19 months ago.

Sudanese officials blame the colonialist system for making arbitrary divisions of the African continent thus the Sudan lumped together a predominantly Moslem north and a largely pagan African south, where European missionaries went to work to try to convert the population to Christianity.

Juba, the capital of Equatorial Province, is a town of astonishing contrasts. Bare-breasted African women dance frenzied tribal dances within the sound of bells from a Roman Catholic church, while African straw huts adjoin an airport where Soviet technicians instruct Sudanese servicemen in sophisticated fighters and helicopters.

The helicopters fly out daily with men and supplies for the scattered border communities, each with its military fort, where government troops patrol against the guerrillas, named the "Any-Nya."

From Juba the Meridi, one of the rebel-threatened areas close to the Congolese border is a 75-minute hop aboard one of the Russian helicopters, with a soldier standing on either side of the vibrating fuselage behind a machine gun.

At Meridi, a wounded soldier was loaded aboard to be taken back to Khartoum, an officer explained that the soldier was drawing water from a stream near his camp on the border when rebels fired from behind rocks, wounding three soldiers and losing two dead themselves in the ensuing skirmish.

This action followed the usual pattern of sporadic raids and uneasy pauses. Officials fear fighting may intensify with the rainy season later in the year, when surface transportation becomes a nightmare.

The rebels, who seek the creation of a separate southern state which they call "Azania," strike from across the borders of Uganda, Ethiopia, the Congo and the Central African Republic. The Sudanese claim Israeli influence and arms are reaching them through military missions in some of these countries.

On display in Khartoum, the Sudanese capital, are quantities of arms captured from the rebels in recent swoops, including machine guns, mortars and anti-aircraft guns.

The rebels had their own airstrip on a hillside a few miles from the border and supplies were flown in by light plane.

According to the Sudanese, the guerrillas' equipment includes Soviet and Egyptian weapons lost in Sinai during the June war of 1967 and now passed on by the Israelis.

"They just want to make trouble for us everywhere to weaken the fighting front, but it won't work," a high-ranking officer said, referring to the Israelis. Nevertheless it is acknowledged in Khartoum that it costs at least 2.5 million dollars

One of Nimeiry's first moves after seizing power was to promise regional autonomy, but exactly what this means has not yet been defined.

The south is potentially rich farmland, but a chronic shortage of capital, as well as internal unrest prevents the central government from exploiting the possibilities.

The government is trying to coax both rebel soldiers and civilian refugees back from the bush, and it claims many are responding. There is a weekly "repatriation flight" from Uganda to Khartoum.

The regime is also trying to convince the rebels that fears of northern and Moslem domination can be discounted under the new government. Nimeiry has promised the rebels "anything short of secession."

Meanwhile the civil authorities are working closely with the army to persuade tribesmen to go back to their villages.

The most effective method--but costly in manpower--is to establish protective police on army posts in abandoned villages in the three southern provinces of Equatoria, Bahr El Gazal and Upper Nile. Once security is re-established schools and other services follow and the way is paved for lasting resettlement.

ASSOCIATED PRESS  
January 14, 1971

SUDAN  
By C. C. Miniclier  
Associated Press Writer

CPYRGHT  
CPYRGHT

Khartoum, Sudan - The flight of refugees is increasing in Sudan's civil war, which has been going on 15 years. Neighboring Uganda now has 71,503 of these refugees. A total of 4,500 went there in the last eight weeks of 1970--more than in all of 1969, according to official figures from the Uganda government and the United Nations.

Sudan, a country as big as Texas and Alaska combined, is bordered by Uganda on the south and Egypt on the north.

The rebellion is in the southern area. The military government which seized power here in May 1969 is officially seeking a peaceful solution but one top official says at least two more "rebel" airstrips must be destroyed first.

"We are not after a military victory," the commander of federal forces in the south recently told the press. Maj. Gen. Mubarak Osman Rahama added, "Our target is saving innocent lives and proving our good intentions."

Khartoum made an offer of regional autonomy in 1969, but this has never been spelled out. The Khartoum government now faces a more active guerrilla force.

"The South" refers to some four million persons living in the provinces of Bahr el Ghazal, Upper Nile and Equatoria. Perhaps 400,000 residents are Christian, and 50,000 Moslem. More than three million are pagan.

The Anya-Nya guerrillas, according to both Khartoum officials and independent observers, number perhaps 4,000. A federal force of some 20,000, or two-thirds of

the Sudanese army is looking for them.  
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The Anya-Nya take their name from a deadly poison, used on tips of spears and arrows, which comes from a cobra.

Five months ago, in a surprise move, the Nile Provisional Government surrendered its autonomy to the Anya-Nya, saying the political leaders have been unable to unite the rank and file and leaving it to the Anya-Nya to carry on.

Col. Joseph Lagu, a graduate of Khartoum Military College, thus was recognized as president of the Anya-Nya Liberation Movement.

The Southern Sudan Association, formed in London, issues a quarterly called the Grass Curtain. A headline over a recent article: "It is better to die than to be slaves of greedy Arabs."

A display of weapons allegedly taken in Anya-Nya engagements was opened in Khartoum a few weeks ago by Maj. Gen. Gaafar Mohammed Nimeiri, president of the Revolutionary Command Council which governs Sudan.

Many of the weapons were old, but submachine guns and mortars were also displayed. They originated in both Eastern and Western countries. The war began in August 1955, a few months before Sudan achieved independence from Britain. It may have taken half a million lives.

It is not a war between blacks and Arabs. Rather it is between black or very dark tribesmen of the South, some of whom speak English, and Northerners who generally are of lighter skin. Virtually all the Northerners are Moslem and speak Arabic.

The distrust dates more than a century to days when the south was a source of slaves and mercenary soldiers.

Sudanese and foreign residents say that a peaceful solution can only be achieved if Khartoum spells out what it means by "regional autonomy" and opens a dialogue with the Anya-Nya and refugee representatives.

Officials in the capital say there has been no decision on a dialogue. An explanation of regional autonomy, they add, awaits a decision on the final format of the federal government. A 300-man commission, including 18 government-appointed Southerners, is to consider that this year.

Interviews in Uganda, Sudan and Ethiopia indicate, as Khartoum claims, that the Anya-Nya are getting newer arms. Some of the people who made money aiding the Biafrans in Nigeria are now turning their efforts to independent Africa's longest civil war. It is not likely the Anya-Nya would have cleared three airstrips if it didn't expect outside aid.

The latest exodus began in November, shortly after Khartoum forces captured an Anya-Nya airstrip known variously as Morta, Maridi or Morotu, south of Yei in Equatoria Province.

The strip was described by Sudanese officials as fully equipped. Federal forces said they captured weapons ranging from shotguns to antitank and anti-aircraft guns. Israel, West Germany and the United States were accused of aiding the rebels.

While the government lacks a political offer of substance for the South, its

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 minister for Southern Affairs, Joseph Garang, has been negotiating some improvements for that area.

These included reopening 70 to 80 per cent of the schools in strife-torn Equatoria and most of the others in the South; reactivating abandoned coffee farms; reopening of five hospitals in Upper Nile and expansion of a 4,000-acre rice project in Bahr el Ghazal to 12,000 acres.

Recently Garang's English-language weekly newspaper, the Nile Mirror, directed to and written for Southerners, criticized the federal government.

A signed article suggested East Africa had expected Khartoum to follow up its offer of 19 months ago of regional autonomy by "holding a big conference with Anya-Nya and refugees," but, it noted, this did not happen.

This year's internationally distributed, poster-size New Year greeting from the Anya-Nya showed guerrillas in the bush and bore the inscription: "A People fighting for its existence against an imperialist Arab army, Soviet advisers and world indifference."

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR  
 January 14, 1971

## Guerrillas claim gains

By Frederic Hunter

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

CPYRGHT

Nairobi, Kenya

Guerrillas have begun to make significant gains in southern Sudan, claims a veteran political activist there. Moreover, reports this source, the gains have come in the face of the most determined military pressure yet mounted by the Khartoum government during the little-known 15-year war.

These claims are made by Ateny Mudrateny Pajokdit, a member of the Dinka tribe, interviewed here. Mr. Pajokdit has actively opposed Arab domination of the black peoples of southern Sudan for over a decade, both in directing political activities and in actual guerrilla fighting.

The government of Maj. Gen. Jaafar al-Nimeri, which seized power in May, 1969, has undertaken "a war of extermination" throughout the three provinces of the south, declares Mr. Pajokdit. Northern military forces implement the policy in two ways: through indiscriminate bombing and through the liquidation of entire village communities.

Why the Nimeri government would embark on an "extermination" policy—if indeed it has—is not clear. The ruling Revolutionary Command Council prides itself on its forthright analysis of and approach to the southern problem; it has made important conciliatory gestures toward southern interests.

From the southern viewpoint these acts leave much to be desired, however, and the northern rulers do not yet accept the need

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for a negotiated settlement of grievances. Increased government military action may signal the failure of the Nimeri southern policy to make significant strides in the 19 months since the coup.

### Massacres described

Mr. Pajokdit claims that Arab soldiers have massacred entire villages or segments of their populations in at least 212 cases. He cites three specific examples.

- In Bahr-el-Ghazal province Arab troops machine-gunned all inhabitants of a Dinka village called Marial Aguog, he claims. The village, which had an estimated population of 700, lay close to Gogrial, where Mr. Pajokdit attended primary school.

- A similar massacre—of an estimated 2,000 people—reportedly took place in villages surrounding the police post of Ulang, nine miles south of Nasir, in Upper Nile Province. After liquidating villagers, government forces had their cattle driven overland to the provincial capital Malakal; from there they were shipped upriver to northern Sudan, says Mr. Pajokdit.

- At the beginning of November at Morta, a village near Kajo-Kaji in Equatoria Province, northern soldiers killed about 800 men of the village, and maimed young women, according to this source.

In addition to massacres of villagers, Mr. Pajokdit states, indiscriminate bombing

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### Starvation policy seen

Northern troops slaughter or remove cattle to the north in order to impoverish the southerners, declares Mr. Pajokdit. They hope to starve out guerrilla forces and the general population which supports them. This strategy may also intend to demoralize the southerners. The way of life—even the world view—of many of the region's tribes is closely bound up in their cattle.

In spite of this determined pressure, Mr. Pajokdit states that southern Sudanese guerrilla forces, known as the Anyanya, are making steady progress against their Arab opponents. They have shot down 14 planes during low-flying bombing raids over Anyanya camps, he claims.

He also states that Anyanya recently overran and for four days held the military garrison at Burmath. There they seized 45 British, Chinese, and Russian automatic weapons. In addition, they made attacks against posts at Akobo, Nasir, and Ulang and wiped out two Arab platoons at Kier.

These attacks appear to illustrate the effectiveness of changes brought about by a reorganization of Anyanya forces within the last eight months. These forces are now under the leadership of Emidio Tafeng, a former soldier in the northern army.

### Raids pressed home

The raids against northern garrisons are important not only as demonstrations of Anyanya strength and as morale boosters within Anyanya forces. They also provide weapons, clothing, food, and other supplies. Independent observers who have visited Anyanya camps report that the guerrillas and much of the southern countryside — from lack of food, clothing, and medical supplies, as well as from government harassment.

Anyanya have real problems arming themselves. During the Congo's 1964 Simba rebellion they frequently captured arms supplies being sent to the rebels from Juba. After the rebellion ended, they disarmed rebels fleeing into Sudan. These arms sources have long since dried up, however.

The Khartoum government has accused Israel of providing arms to Anyanya. But an independent observer, recently returned from a visit inside southern Sudan, reported no evidence of Israeli aid.

This source, and other Anyanya spokesmen claim that other Arab countries are aiding the Khartoum government in its pursuit of the war. Financial support is said to come from Libya, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Morocco, and others. Algerian troops are reported to be garrisoning military outposts and operating patrols. Mr. Pajokdit declares that there are presently 25,000 Egyptian troops in Sudan, most of them fighting Anyanya in the south. In addition, he says, they are piloting bombing raids against the southerners.

Mr. Mirghani, Sudan's Ambassador to Kenya, denies the presence of Egyptian troops in the South. "The Sudanese themselves would not accept this," he states. Mr. Mirghani also denies accounts of massacres and maimings by northern soldiers' and claims that southern refugees are returning to Sudan in increasing numbers.

It is not easy to check the claims of either side in this conflict. Officially sanctioned travel in the region is restricted; unrestricted, unofficial travel is dangerous. Moreover, both sides are aware of the role of the press in shaping world opinion about the fighting. This results in exaggerations and half truths. So far, the Khartoum government has been largely successful in keeping the southern conflict from press notice.

It also is difficult to assess the rival claims. Reports of bombings, massacres, and maimings have come from the south for some months, however; some of them are brought out by independent observers. It seems likely that these reports contain elements of truth as well as exaggerations. Moreover, journalists who have toured the South with government troops report that Anyanya control many roads and have these troops isolated or pinned down in many areas.

Unquestionably, the fighting has cost heavily in terms of human lives. The United Nations estimates the toll at over 500,000. Southern Sudanese claim that another million have died in massacres or from indirect, war-related causes such as starvation and untreated wounds. A 1.5 million death toll would mean that 1 Sudanese in 10 had lost his life in the conflict, one southerner in about three.

It seems clear that an end to the fighting can come about only through a political settlement. That will not be easy to achieve, given past failures and the deep-seated animosities which exist on both sides. But the alternative to this appears to be the war of attrition or "extermination" which Mr. Pajokdit claims has begun.

## Sudan civil war

# Will Israel stay out?

CPYRGHT

**A bloody civil war in southern Sudan, simmering on a back burner of world attention since it began in 1955, could draw a big spotlight this year. The cause would be an extension of the Arab-Israeli conflict down the Red Sea into Africa. The continuing conflict across Africa between the Arabs and black people to their south already involves the Israelis to some extent in their support of Ethiopia.**

**By John K. Cooley**

*Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor*

**Beirut, Lebanon**

Continuing stalemate in the Arab-Israeli conflict may turn new Arab and African attention in 1971 to the civil war in southern Sudan.

Since 1955 this conflict has been one of the least publicized but the bitterest of several confrontations across Africa between Arab (Muslim) people in the north and black (pagan and Christian) people in the south.

The confrontation exists in Chad, Nigeria, Niger, Mali, and Mauretania in more or less peaceful forms. In the Sudan history and geography have made it flare into open conflict.

The involvement of Israel, and Sudan's new role in a projected Arab federation with Egypt, Libya, and Syria may become paramount elements in the coming year.

### **Possible move by Nimeri**

Some observers of Arab affairs believe Maj. Gen. Jaafar al-Nimeri, Sudan's military ruler since May, 1969, may try to enlist support of southern blacks who reject rule by the Arab government in Khartoum.

Preserving the political unity of the Nile Valley, they assert, has often been an aim of Egyptian policy since the pharaohs of about 3,000 B.C.

Nearby, the Arab-backed Eritrea Liberation Front guerrillas are fighting Emperor Haile Selassie's United States- and Israeli-aided Ethiopian forces.

All these factors add up to a possible extension of the Arab-Israeli conflict southward along the Red Sea into Africa.

Sudanese Defense Minister Khaled Hassan Abbas announced Nov. 8 that Sudan's Army, equipped by the Soviet Union since the Arab-Israeli war of 1967, had won some victories against the black rebels.

He announced capture of four insurgent bases, Morto in central Equatoria province; Edo and Lorango in eastern Equatoria and Bamba in western Equatoria, near the borders of Congo (Kinshasa) and the Central African Republic.

West German mercenary leader Rolf Steiner, who worked with the southern Sudanese after helping organize Biafran resistance in the Nigerian civil war, had been captured as he tried to enter Uganda, the minister said.

Large stocks of Israeli arms and U.S.-made equipment used to signal aircraft approaching the rebel airstrip near Morto were also taken, he added.

Refugees arriving in Europe told Christian groups in Italy and West Germany that a new "Biafran-type massacre" was in preparation in Equatoria, Bahr-el-Ghazal, and Upper Nile provinces.

### **Israeli aid noted**

The refugees said that Israeli military and training missions in Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, and the Congo are providing arms and training to the insurgents.

Several Western newsmen have reported that Israeli advisers are attached to the forces of Col. Samuel Abu John, a guerrilla commander trained in the British Army. He is said to control on behalf of the "revolutionary government" of the Anyanya (Snake Poison) movement a parcel of territory in the Zande region, next to the Congo frontier.

The same church groups which supplied relief at the Uli airstrip in Biafra before

been moving supplies into southern Sudan. Their concern is it was to bring a relieving hunger and suffering. Both are rife through the complete disruption of normal economic life in the swamps, forests, and grassy plains of the three southern provinces.

### Refugees helped

In neighboring countries United Nations organizations, the World Council of Churches, the Swedish Red Cross, Roman Catholic Mission Relief, and the British Catholic Womens League among others have been helping refugees.

In 1968 the UN estimated 63,000 southern Sudanese refugees in Uganda and 40,000 in Congo (Kinshasa) alone. In 1955, the last year of British rule, the southern, British-trained Equatoria Army mutinied unsuccessfully against Arab officers and civil servants sent from Khartoum to "integrate" the non-Muslim south.

A series of politicians and parties, some legal and some underground, have since campaigned for southern self-rule.

### Measures untaken

General Nimeri after his take-over in 1969 promised more measures to help the non-Muslim south to self-government, but refugee sources say these never got off the ground.

Two main rival southern groups now exist. One is the "Nile provisional government" of exiled southern politicians in Kampala, Uganda, last known to be headed by Gordon Mayen. It advocates total independence for a "republic of the Nile."

More active is the Azania Liberation Front. The Anyanya is its military arm, and it is attempting to organize schools and some basic administrative and economic activity in "liberated" regions where Arab government has either been driven out or never really existed.

Government troops hold the main southern towns, such as Juba in Equatoria, Wau in Bahr-el-Ghazal and Shambe in Upper Nile. But they are evidently unable to secure roads and other communication lines or hold villages in bush areas.

In a preface to a recent book "The Sudan, a Southern Viewpoint" by southern-exile leader Oliver Albino, published by the Institute of Race Relations in London, British historian Arnold J. Toynbee writes:

"British rule [from 1899 to 1956] differentiated the northern and the southern Sudanese from each other without separating them from each other politically.

"This made it virtually inevitable that, if and when the British abdicated, the northerners, being by far the stronger of the two sections of the Sudanese people, should attempt as they have done to assimilate the southerners by force. This in turn, has made it inevitable that there should be a southern resistance movement."

THE PATRIOT LEDGER (Quincy, Mass.)  
Monday, January 18, 1971

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### THE ROY WILKINS COLUMN:

## Sudan's Racism Traps Blacks

WASHINGTON — Hardly a week goes by without revealing that the put propaganda phrases of many of the sloganeering black militants are so much hokum. A minority of black thinkers believes it now has a chance to stampede their own race into a suicidal emotionalism under the sweeping black label.

### Sudanese Genocide

Two black Sudanese have outlived the persecution of black people by the Arabs in Northern Sudan and thus have forced the pro-Arab black operators here toward a moment of truth.

These have been harping on the charge of genocide. They want the world to believe that because of police killings and other black deaths, the U.S.A. is practicing "genocide," that is, exterminating the Negro population.

Nobody among the dark wailers has bothered to try to explain why, if genocide is a policy, the total Negro population keeps increasing. The black birth rate is higher than that of whites. The life expectancy of Negro men and women is stretching to more and more years.

The kinds of insurance policies now available to Negroes testify in unsentimental statistics to the improvement in health and in the diversification in occupations. Granted that ghetto life is grinding and hard, that malnutrition takes its toll, that Negroes arrested for an alleged infraction of the law are more likely than whites to be convicted and that narcotics have made searing inroads, it is still not accurate to call the Negro death rate "genocide."

The petition filed with the United Nations by two black Sudanese puts genocide in its proper place. They charge that 250,000 black Sudanese have been shot to death and 250,000 have died of hunger.

The half-million dead, they assert, were the result of official policy which the Arab-led Khartoum government is enforcing against four million blacks in southern Sudan. If one-eighth of the black population

is killed off by government, then genocide is a valid charge.

The petition, however, exposed more than the genocide fantasy of American black militants. All the far left Negroes, the big name black leaders in exile in Algeria or those taking their leisure elsewhere in Africa, have been preaching the vilest anti-Semitism.

They have promised Egypt that black American volunteer soldiers would help the Arabs against Israel. It is true that there have been changes in the mood of black America, but no one has yet recorded any rush of blacks to fight alongside the Arabs.

### Curious Silence

Speech makers, interviewees and analysts of the black revolution keep curiously silent on the persecution of black people in the Sudan by the Arab-led government. The U.N. petition filed by the Southern Sudan Liberation Front declares that Egyptian and Libyan troops are being used against black Sudanese and that Soviet-built aircraft are bombarding the black provinces.

Black militants beat the torn-torn for black, black, black. They sound often like their pet hate: racists.

Every Negro American who does not embrace in unquestioning fashion the goodness of blackness is denounced as a "traitor to his race." He merely may be saying that two plus two equals four, but if the black spellbinders say the total, in "black experience" is five, then he is condemned.

The disciples of blackism and their white sycophants are now called upon to become something they have never been: consistent. Are they for the liberation front in black Sudan as they declare themselves to be for the liberation front in Vietnam?

Do they oppose the Arab-led government in Khartoum, or do they continue to urge Negro Americans to help the Arabs exterminate Israel?

It is long past time for someone to say something besides "black." Like "humanity," for instance.

(The Register and Tribune Syndicate)

Südsudan: Aufstand als Überbleibsel des Kolonialismus

# Das „Giftige Gras“ verletzt das Regime

Die Regierung macht die Gewährung der Autonomie von  
der Auflösung der Rebellenbewegung abhängig

CPYRGHT

Von unserem Korrespondenten Rudolph Chimelli

**Khartum, im Januar**

Der Rotor des Hubschraubers treibt rötliche Staubwolken in den dunstigen afrikanischen Sommerhimmel. Geräuschvoll hebt sich die tonnenschwere sowjetische Mi 8 vom Flugplatz von Juba, der Hauptstadt der südsudanesischen Provinz Äquatoria. Das Ziel: 240 Kilometer weiter westlich die Distriktstadt Meridi, die auf dem Landweg nur noch zweimal monatlich im bewaffneten Konvoi erreichbar ist. Die Fracht: eine kleine Gruppe Informationsbeamte und Journalisten, ein paar Regierungsfunktionäre, ein Eisenkoffer mit 150 000 Pfund in bar von der Nationalbank. Die Besatzung: ein sudanesischer Fliegeroffizier als Kommandant, im blauen Overall ein sowjetischer Kopilot, der jedoch tatsächlich den Flug dirigiert, ein sowjetischer Navigator, ein ägyptischer Navigator, der außer beim Start und bei der Landung den dritten Sitz in der Kanzel übernimmt, und zwei Soldaten, die rechts und links mit schweren Maschinengewehren, Relikten einstiger deutscher Militärhilfe an den Sudan, aus geöffneten Bullaugen nach Rebellen spähen.

Das wellige Land, das einige schroffe Felsbarrieren von Nord nach Süd durchziehen, erscheint aus 2500 Meter Flughöhe fast menschenleer. Meterhohes Steppengras, einzelne Bäume, die sich manchmal zum Gebüsch verdichten, die Windungen eines algenverwachsenen Flusses, drei oder vier Dörfer aus runden Grashütten, sonst während einer Stunde und zehn Minuten nichts. Der ganze Südsudan, bestehend aus den Provinzen Äquatoria, Ober-Nil und Bahr-el-Ghasal (Gazellenfluß), mit seinen 650 000 Quadratkilometern so groß wie die Bundesrepublik, Österreich, die Schweiz und Italien zusammen, hat höchstens vier Millionen Einwohner. Von Khartum nach Juba ist es so weit wie von München nach Tunis, von der östlichen Ecke der Südsudan am Rudolfsee bis an die Grenze der Zentralafrikanischen Republik so weit wie von Paris nach Sofia. Im ganzen Süden gibt es keine Asphaltstraße, sondern nur Erdwege, von denen die meisten während der sechs Monate während der Regenzeit nicht benutzbar sind, eine Eisenbahn von Khartum nach Wau, der Hauptstadt von Bahr-el-Ghasal, und als einzigen zuverlässigen, aber langsamen Verkehrsweg den Weißen Nil, der zwischen Juba und Malakal ein 400 Kilometer langes und 300 Kilometer breites Sumpfgebiet bewässert.

## Seit Jahrzehnten abgeriegelt

Daß dieses riesige Land heute zum Sudan gehört, ist eine Folge britischer Kolonialpolitik im 19. Jahrhundert; daß es während zweier Menschenalter nicht an den arabischen Norden assimiliert wurde, ebenfalls. Rigoros sperrten die Briten den Süden gegen Siedler und islamische Missionare aus dem nördlichen Landesteil, gegen kulturelle und wirtschaftliche Durchdringung aus dem höher entwickelten arabischen Sudan ab. Der Süden blieb Schwarzes Afrika, der Süden blieb zurück. Als der Sudan am 1. Januar 1956 in die Unabhängigkeit entlassen wurde, gab es in den drei Südsudanprovinzen nur sechs Personen mit Universitätsbildung, nur eine einzige Mittelschule, kaum Ansätze zu einer kommerziell betriebenen Landwirtschaft, so gut wie kein einheimisches Handwerk, praktisch keine Industrie. Vielleicht 20 000 bis 25 000 der schwarzen Stammesleute waren zum Islam bekehrt, etwa 200 000 waren von weißen Missionaren für den Katholizismus gewonnen, 25 000 bis 30 000 waren Protestanten. Die übrigen, mehr als 90 Prozent, hängen bis heute Naturreligionen an, bauen wie eh und je Negerhirse zum eigenen Verbrauch, leben als Jäger und Sammler oder nomadisieren mit ihren Rinderherden.

Ogleich der Süden als selbständiges Gemeinwesen kaum vorstellbar war, wehrte sich die kleine afrikanische Elite, die hierin ihren Rückhalt beim Volk hatte, von Anfang an dagegen, daß mit der Unabhängigkeit des Sudan die Macht von britischen in arabische Hände übergehen sollte. Schon 1955, im letzten Jahr der Herrschaft Londons, meuterten die südlichen Garnisonen. Da der Süden mit seinen Forderungen auf Autonomie und Föderation niemals durchdrang, befindet er sich seither mit Unterbrechungen im Aufstand gegen Khartum.

In Meridi, das der Gouverneur von Äquatoria am Tag zuvor als „ruhigsten und sichersten Platz in der Provinz“ geschildert hat, sind die Spuren der Rebellion fast überall zu sehen. Am südlichen Stadtrand, von wo es zu den blauen Hügeln des Kongo nur 25 Kilometer sind, können neue Anpflanzungen von Hirse und Kaffee nur besichtigt werden, wenn vorher ein Landrover mit aufmontiertem Maschinengewehr am Rand der Felder in Richtung auf den Busch in Stellung gegangen ist. Schwerebewaffnete Soldaten umringen jeden Schritt der Journalisten. Auf dem von einem Schützenpanzer und Maschinengewehrlöchern gesicherten Damm, der



den Meridi-Fluß zu einem kleinen See statt, fragt der Begleitoffizier freundlich besorgt: „Sie wollen doch nicht auf die andere Seite gehen?“

Wie um alle Städte des Südens hat sich um Meridi ein Ring von Grashüttendörfern gebildet, unter deren Bewohnern zu wenig Männer sind. Der stellvertretende Kommandeur des südlichen Armeebereichs, Oberst Omar el Tayeb, gibt offen zu, daß die Zwangsdeportation einer der Eckpfeiler der Befriedungspolitik ist. „Wir wollen die Leute umsiedeln. Wir sammeln sie in den Wäldern und im offenen Land ein und siedeln sie in der Nähe der Städte neu an.“ Der Zweck sei, den Rebellen die Möglichkeit zu nehmen, in der Bevölkerung unterzutauchen und sich zu versorgen. „Und wenn die Leute nicht mit Ihren Soldaten kommen und ein ‚Friedensdorf‘ bauen wollen?“

Mit dem selbstzufriedenen Lächeln eines Mannes, der ein gutes Werk geleistet hat, schätzt der Oberst, daß über die Hälfte der früher im Busch lebenden Einwohner Äquatorias und der am meisten gefährdeten Gebiete der beiden anderen Südprovinzen eingesammelt worden ist. „Wir müssen einfach etwas für die Leute tun. Es ist der Gang der Geschichte. Jetzt gefällt es ihnen nicht, aber später werden sie uns verstehen.“

Es gefällt ihnen tatsächlich nicht. Bei der Umsiedlung verschwinden häufig die Männer im Busch, um zu den Rebellen oder über die Grenze, vorwiegend nach Äthiopien, Uganda und in den Kongo zu gehen. In den Grashüttenslums um die Städte herrscht Armut. Juba ist von 1963 bis zum vergangenen Jahr von 18 000 auf 65 000 Einwohner gewachsen; Meridi von 4000 auf 15 000. Für so viele Menschen fehlt es an Arbeit, an sanitären Einrichtungen, an allem. Demoralisierung, Müßiggang, Kriminalität, Prostitution sind die Dominanten im Leben der meisten Umsiedler. Soweit die Bevölkerung des Südens auf dem Land geblieben ist, gebietet die Regierung im Bürgerkrieg den Stammesfehden weniger als früher Einheit. Ohnehin stehen die Dörfer zwischen zwei Feuern: Arbeiten sie mit den Rebellen zusammen, trifft sie eine Strafexpedition der Armee; bleiben sie loyal, was auch vorkommt, rächen sich an ihnen rücksichtslos die Aufständischen. Es gibt Stämme, die von diesen Mühlensteinen buchstäblich zerrieben worden sind. Vom Volk der Lapit, das einst 30 000 zählte, vegetieren heute nur noch wenige Hundert am Rand von Juba.

Auf einem Hügel über Meridis besser gesicherter Nordseite steht zwischen Palmen, Mangobäumen und üppig wuchernden Blütensträuchern die protestantische Kirche: strohgedecktes englisches Backstein-Tudor. Ein Frauenchor singt zur Begleitung von Rasseln und Handtrommeln eine melancholisch-rhythmische Hymne. Meridis Kirchen waren nie zerstört. In Malakal, der Hauptstadt von Obernil, ist Monsignore Yukwan sogar dabei, mit der Finanzhilfe Roms eine neue Kirche zu bauen. Er bezeugt, daß er keine Behinderung seiner Arbeit und daß seine Gemeinde keine Verfolgung kennt.

Aus der elektrizitätslosen Nacht der Grashütten drängen dem Fremden andere Stimmen entgegen. Sie sprechen mit dem festen Glauben und

dem einfachen Vokabular der Missionsschule. „Wir haben noch immer Vertrauen zu Weißen. Gott hat uns diese Prüfung aufgegeben, damit wir Zeugnis ablegen, und ihr, unsere Brüder, müßt es auch tun“, sagt ein schwarzer anglikanischer Pfarrer, der keine Gemeinde mehr hat. Seine Kirche hat in den Wirren der Jahre 1965/66 im gesamten Süden 38 Gotteshäuser und Versammlungsgebäude verloren. Sie wurden von den Regierungstruppen zerstört, nicht weil sie christlich, sondern weil sie die Zentren der lesenden, schreibenden, organisiert handelnden Minderheit waren, die den Widerstand gegen die Eingliederung in den Norden leitete. Da es zur britischen Zeit im Süden nur Missionsschulen gab, konnten die Führer der Autonomiebewegung nur Christen sein. Die heidnisch gebliebene Minderheit, die ihre politischen Wünsche nicht verständlich machen kann, empfindet jedoch nicht anders als sie.

„Wir machen keine Fortschritte mehr, wir fallen zurück“ klagt ein katholischer Priester. Seine Kirche hat weniger Gebäude eingebüßt und ist organisatorisch besser intakt geblieben, aber seit der Ausweisung sämtlicher 33 weißen Missionare, welche die sudanesishe Regierung 1962 verfügte, ist die Last auf den Schultern der wenigen einheimischen Pfarrer zu schwer. Selbst Priestern aus afrikanischen und arabischen Ländern, die im Südsudan aushelfen könnten, gibt Khartum nur selten ein Visum. Am schärfsten urteilt ein presbyterianischer Kirchenmann: „Wenn ein weißes Regime mit uns täte, was Khartum mit uns macht, würde sich die ganze Welt darüber aufregen. Was im Südsudan geschieht, ist zehnmal schlimmer als das, was unsere Brüder in Südafrika und Rhodesien auszuhalten haben.“ Wie praktisch alle jüngeren Gesprächspartner, wenn sie von Regierungsaugen unbeobachtet sind, bekennt er sich zur „Anyanya“, der Bewegung der Rebellen und zu deren Ziel, zur Sezession.

Die Anya-Nya (zu deutsch: giftiges Gras) hat im Juni letzten Jahres die vier anderen Separatisten-Organisationen (Anzania Liberation League, Suer Republic, Anidi Government, Nile Republic) unter ihre Fittiche genommen, die meisten der früheren zivilen Föderationspolitiker mattgesetzt und ein einheitliches Militärkommando errichtet. Ihr Führer ist der ehemalige Leutnant Joseph Lago, ein Katholik. An zweiter Stelle steht Samuel Abu John, Ex-Hauptmann und Protestant, an dritter Stelle Frederick Brian William Maggot, gleichfalls Protestant und ehemaliger Major. Joseph Lago werden vom sudanesischen Geheimdienst enge Verbindungen nach Israel nachgesagt. Er sei selber dort gewesen und habe andere Anya-Nya-Krieger zur Ausbildung hingeschickt.

Obgleich die Kampfkraft der schwarzen Rebellen von unabhängigen Beobachtern, die auf der anderen Seite waren, gering eingeschätzt wird, hat die Anya-Nya dieses Ziel sehr weitgehend erreicht: Ein erheblicher Teil der sudanesischen Armee steht heute im Süden. Ein großer Teil der Straßen ist durch Minen und Gefahr von Überfällen aus dem Hinterhalt unpassierbar. Im Dezember attackierte eine Anya-Nya-Gruppe unter Führung von vier weißen Söldnern die Polizeistation von Bor am Nil, 300 Kilometer von der Grenze Äthiopiens oder Ugandas entfernt, tötete einen mit den Behörden kollaborierenden Schilluk-Häuptling und für Polizisten und verschwand. Die sechs Gefallenen, welche die Anya-Nya zurückließ, waren gut ausgerüstet und gekleidet. „Wenn wir ein Jahr vorher einen Rebellen fingen, hatte er nur ein oder zwei Patronen. Jetzt haben sie Bazookas und 5-Zentimeter-Mörser“, klagte ein Offizier.

Zeitweise gelingt es den Rebellen, kleinere Gebiete unter ihre Kontrolle zu nehmen. Das wichtigste davon, genannt „Moroto“ (der große Versammlungsplatz), das in einem schwer zugänglichen, bergigen Areal im Grenzgebiet mit Uganda südlich von Yei lag, konnte eine sudanesishe Brigade im Herbst nach 25-tägigen Kämpfen erstürmen. Die von Russen geflogenen Hubschrauber spielten dabei die entscheidende Rolle. „Das einzige Mittel für die Armee, diese Operation auszuführen“, nennt sie der Kommandant. „Ohne Helikopter hätten die Soldaten niemals an diese unwegsamen Plätze gelangen können.“ Gefangene wurden kaum gemacht. Die meisten Aufständischen entkamen, so auch der Mann, der den Anya-Nya als Chefausbilder und Khartum als Beweis für imperialistische Anstiftung der Rebellion dient: der deutsche Ex-Fremdenlegionär Rolf Steiner, der später in Uganda festgenommen und jetzt an den Sudan ausgeliefert wurde. Die Behauptung, israelische, amerikanische und westdeutsche Drahtzieher stünden hinter der verstärkten Aktivität der Anya-Nya ist zum Kleingeld national-arabischer Propaganda von Khartum bis Beirut, von Kairo bis Bagdad geworden. Details zur angeblichen Verwicklung der Bundesrepublik kann indessen niemand liefern, nicht die Verwaltung im Süden, nicht die Armee, nicht die Polizei, nicht

das Informationsministerium in Khartum, nicht das Amt des Präsidenten. Das Ministerium für Angelegenheiten des Südens wartet mit einer Liste auf, in der in pauschaler Form Personen und Organisationen („die Caritas die Freunde Afrikas“) genannt werden, die propagandistisch oder als Geldsammler für die Südsudanesen tätig sind. Ein Sender, „Die Stimme Afrikas“, soll von Köln aus den Rebellen den Rücken steifen.

Bestimmter wird erst der Minister, Joseph Garang, selbst Südländer und Kommunist: „Es kann kein Zufall sein, daß diese Organisationen immer dann aktiv werden, wenn im Sudan ein linkes Regime erscheint.“ Die Schaffung von Garangs Ministerium und seine Berufung in das Ressort für den Süden sind einige der wenigen Taten, die auf Numeiris Proklamation des Prinzips der Regionalautonomie am 9. Juni 1969 folgten. Als die Revolutionsregierung damals verkündete, daß sie „die historischen und kulturellen Unterschiede zwischen Nord und Süd anerkennt und fest daran glaubt, daß die Einheit unseres Landes auf diese objektiven Tatsachen gegründet werden muß“, hatte sie zunächst Kredit im Süden. Der Aufstand schief ein. Nahezu ein halbes Jahr lang herrschte völlige Ruhe.

Doch es geschah nichts, außer daß Projekte zur wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung der drei Provinzen entworfen wurden. Arabisch blieb die alleinige Sprache der Verwaltung und der Schulen, überwiegend arabisch blieben Regierung, Armee und Beamtenschaft. Im Revolutionsrat gibt es keinen Südländer, im Kabinett nur zwei; nur einer von neun Provinzgouverneuren stammt aus dem Süden, drei Obersten sind die ranghöchsten Offiziere, welche der Südsudan hervorgebracht hat; an der Universität Khartum studieren nur 220 Studenten aus den Südsprovinzen; eine gemeinsame Regionalverwaltung für Äquatoria, Ober-Nil und Bahr-el-Ghasal, besetzt und dirigiert von Südländern, gibt es nicht. Die Chance, den Wünschen des Südens im Frieden entgegenzukommen, damit das Feuer des Aufstands dauernd gelöscht werde, wurde verpaßt, der Circulus vitiosus ist wieder geschlossen: So lange die Rebellion andauert, kann keine wirkliche Autonomie gewährt werden; so lange keine Autonomie gewährt wird, dauert die Rebellion an.

## SOUTH SUDANESE REBEL MOVEMENT DAMAGING TO REGIME

CPYRGHT

By Rudolph Chimelli

Khartoum, January

The helicopter rotor drives reddish clouds of dust into the hazy African summer sky. Noisily, the Soviet Mi 8, weighing tons, rises from the landing field at Juba, capital of the Sudanese province of Equatoria. Our destination is the district city of Meridi, 240 Kilometers toward the west, now reachable by land only twice a month by armed convoy. The passengers are a small group of information officials and journalists and a couple of government functionaries. An iron chest containing cash from the National Bank to the value of 150,000 pounds is carried as freight. The crew consists of a Sudanese air force officer as captain, a Soviet copilot in blue overalls who in fact directs the flight, a Soviet navigator, an Egyptian navigator who, except during take-off and landing, occupies the third seat in the cockpit, and two soldiers, armed with heavy automatic rifles,

~~Approved For Release 1999/09/02 : CIA-RDP79-01194A000300070001-6~~  
 The soldiers watch for rebels  
 through open portholes.

The rolling country, traversed from north to south by a few rough mountain ranges, seems from the altitude of 2500 meters almost empty of human beings. For an hour and ten minutes nothing is to be seen except yard-high steppe grass, scattered trees, sometimes condensing into bush, the windings of a river overgrown with algae, three or four villages of round grass huts. The whole of South Sudan, consisting of the provinces of Equatoria, Upper Nile, and Bahr-el-Ghazal (Gazelle River), with an area of 650,000 square kilometers, as large as the Federal Republic, Austria, Switzerland, and Italy put together, has a population of at most four million. The distance from Khartoum to Juba is as great as from Munich to Tunis, and from the eastern corner of the southern provinces on Lake Rudolph to the border with the Central African Republic is as far as from Paris to Sofia. In the entire South there is no asphalted road, only dirt roads, most of which are not passable during the six-month long rainy season. The only railroad runs from Khartoum to Wau, capital of Bahr-el-Ghazal, and the only reliable, but slow, traffic route is the White Nile, which waters a 400 kilometer long swamp region between Juba and Malakal.

### Cut Off for Decades

That this huge country today belongs to Sudan is a result of British colonial policy during the 19th century, as is the fact that for two generations it has not been assimilated by the Arab North. Rigorously, the British cut off the South from settlers and Islamic missionaries from the northern sections of the country, as well as against cultural and economic penetration from the more highly developed Arabic Sudan. The South remained Black Africa, the South remained backward. When the Sudan gained its independence in January, 1956, there were in the southern provinces only six persons with university educations, only one middle school, hardly the beginnings of commercial agriculture, practically no native handicrafts, and practically no industry. Perhaps 20,000 to 25,000 of the black tribesmen were converts to Islam, about 200,000 had been won over to Catholicism by white missionaries, 25,000 to 30,000 were protestants. The rest, over 90 percent, have up to the present time hung on to their native religions, grow millet for their own consumption, and live as hunters and food gatherers or as nomads with their herds of cattle.

Although the South was hardly conceivable as an independent commonwealth, the small African elite, which in this had the support of the people, from the beginning of independence resisted the turning over of British power to the Arabs. As early as in 1955, the last year of British domination, the southern garrisons mutinied. Since the South's demands for autonomy and federation were never successful, it has since that time, with interruptions, been in a state of rebellion against Khartoum.

In Meridi, which the governor of Equatoria had the day before described as "the quietest and safest place in the province," the traces of the rebellion are seen almost everywhere. At the southern edge of the city, only 25 kilometers from the blue hills of the Congo, new plantings of millet and coffee can be inspected only when in advance a Landrover has been positioned at the edge of the field with its machine gun pointing toward the bush. Heavily armed soldiers surround every step taken by the journalists. On a dam, protected by armor plate and machine gun pits above the small reservoir formed by the Meridi River, the escorting officer asks with friendly solicitude: "You will not wish to go to the other side?"

As around all of the cities of the South, a ring of grass hut villages has grown up around Meridi, among the people of which there are too few men. The deputy commanding officer of the Southern Army Region, Colonel Omar el Tayeb, frankly admits that forced deportation is one of the cornerstones of the pacification

policy. "We shall resettle the people. We collect them in the open country and resettle them near the cities." The purpose is to deprive the rebels of the opportunity to disappear among the people and to support themselves. "And when the people refuse to come with the soldiers to build a 'peace village'?"

With the self-satisfied smile of a man who has done a good job, the Colonel estimates that over one half of the inhabitants of Equatoria who formerly lived in the bush and those who lived in the most endangered areas of the other two southern provinces have been collected. "We must simply do something for the people. It is the course of history. They are not happy with it now, but later they will understand us."

It does not please them, as a matter of fact. In the course of the resettlement, the men often disappear into the bush, to join the rebels or to go over the border, mostly to Ethiopia, Uganda, and the Congo. In the grass hut slums around the cities poverty predominates. From 1963 to 1970, the population of Juba increased from 18,000 to 65,000, and that of Meridi from 4,000 to 15,000. For that many people there is shortage of work, sanitary facilities, everything. Demoralization, idleness, crime, and prostitution prevail among most of those resettled. To the extent the people of the South have stayed on the land, the government during the civil war restrains tribal feuds less than before. Nevertheless, the villagers are between two fires: If they cooperate with the rebels, they meet with an army punitive expedition, if they remain loyal, which also happens, the rebels ruthlessly take revenge on them. There are tribes that have literally been crushed between these two millstones. Of the Lapit people, who once numbered 30,000, only a few hundreds now vegetate at the edge of Juba.

On a hill above Meridi's better secured north side, between palms, mango trees, and luxuriantly blooming shrubbery, stands the protestant church, a thatch-roofed English brick Tudor structure. A female choir sings a hymn in melancholy rhythm to the accompaniment of rattles and hand drums. Meridi's churches have not been disrupted. In Malakal, capital of Upper Nile Province, Monsignor Yukwan is even building a church with the financial aid of Rome. He declares that there has been no interference with his work and that his parish experiences no persecution.

In the night, other voices meet the strangers from the grass huts that are devoid of electric light. They speak with the firm faith and simple vocabulary of the mission school. "We must still have confidence. God has given us this trial so that we may bear witness, and you, our brothers, must also do so," says a black Anglican minister, who no longer has a congregation. In the chaos of the years 1965-66 his church lost a total of 38 churches and meeting houses in the South. They were destroyed by government troops not because they were Christian, but because they were centers for the literate, organized minority which led the resistance to assimilation by the North. Since during the British time there were only mission schools in the South, the leaders of the autonomy movement can only be Christians. However, the majority that has remained heathen experience nothing that is different.

"We no longer make progress, we fall behind," complains a Catholic priest. His church has lost fewer buildings and has remained more intact organizationally, but since the expulsion of the 33 white missionaries at the disposal of the Sudanese government in 1962 the load on the shoulders of the few native clergymen is too heavy. Khartoum only seldom grants visas to priests from African and Arab countries who could help out in South Sudan. A Presbyterian church man expresses his opinion in the sharpest terms: "If what is being done to us by Khartoum were done by a white regime, the whole world would be stirred up. What is happening in South Sudan is ten times as bad as what our brothers in South Africa and Rhodesia have to bear." Like practically all the young people with whom we talked when unobserved by government eyes, he admits to belonging to the Anya-Nya, the rebel movement, and to approve

In June of last year the Anya-Nya (Poison Grass) took the four other separatist organizations (Anzania Liberation League, Suer Republic, Anidi Government, and Nile Republic) under its wing, checkmated most of the former Federation politicians, and established a unified military command. Its leader is former Lieutenant Joseph Lagu, a Catholic. Second in command is Samuel Abu John, ex-captain and Protestant, and third in command Frederick Brian William Maggot, former major and also a Protestant. Joseph Lagu is said by the Sudanese secret service to have close contacts with Israel. He is said to have been there himself and to have sent other Anya-Nya fighters there for training.

#### Victory by Means of Soviet Helicopters

Although the fighting strength of the black rebels is estimated as slight by independent observers on the other side, the Anya-Nya has very largely attained one of its goals: A considerable part of the Sudanese army is today in the South. A large proportion of the roads is impassable because of mines and the danger of attacks from ambush. In December, an Anya-Nya group led by four white mercenaries attacked the police station at Bor on the Nile, 300 kilometers from the borders of Ethiopia and Uganda, killed a Shilluk chief who was collaborating with the authorities and four policemen and disappeared. The six rebels killed, left behind by the Anya-Nya, were well equipped and clothed. "When a year ago we caught a rebel, he had only one or two cartridges. Today they have bazookas and five-centimeter mortars," complained an officer.

From time to time, the rebels succeed in bringing smaller areas under their control. The most important of these, the Moroto (The Great Gathering Place), located in an inaccessible mountainous area on the border with Uganda south of Yei, was in the fall stormed by a Sudanese brigade after a battle lasting for 25 days. Helicopters, flown by Russians, played a decisive role. The commanding officer describes helicopters as "the only means the army has of carrying out such an operation. Without helicopters the soldiers would never have been able to reach this inaccessible place." Prisoners were rarely taken. Most of the rebels escaped, as did the man who serves the Anya-Nya as chief trainer and Khartoum as proof of imperialist instigation of the rebellion, the German ex-Foreign Legionnaire Rolf Steiner. Steiner was subsequently apprehended in Uganda and handed over to the Sudan. The contention that American and West Germans are pulling the strings behind the increased Anya-Nya activity has become small change in national Arab propaganda from Khartoum to Beirut, from Cairo to Baghdad. In the meantime, nobody can furnish details on the supposed materialization of the federated republic, not the administration in the South, not the army, not the police, not the information ministry in Khartoum, and the President's office. The Ministry for Southern Affairs serves up a list, in which are lumped together persons and organizations (Caritas of the Friends of Africa) who are active as propagandists or collectors of funds for the South Sudanese. A broadcasting station in Cologne is said to be stiffening the backs of the rebels.

Minister Joseph Garang, himself a Southlander and Communist, is more positive: "It cannot be a coincidence that these organizations become more active when a Left regime appears in the Sudan." The creation of Garang's ministry and his appointment to the administration for the South was one of the few actions that followed upon Numeiri's proclamation of the principles of regional autonomy of 9 June, 1969. When the revolutionary government at that time announced that it "recognized the historical and cultural differences between the North and the South and firmly believed that the unity of our country must be founded upon these objective facts," it was at first believed in the South. The rebellion died away. Complete calm prevailed for almost six months.

Nothing happened, however, except that projects for economic development of the three provinces were proposed. Arabic remained the only language in the administration and in the schools; the government, the army, and the civil service remained preponderantly Arabic. There is no southerner in the Revolutionary Council, only two in the cabinet; only one of nine provincial governors is from the South, and only three officers of ranks as high as colonel; at Khartoum University there are only 220 students from the southern provinces; there is no joint regional administration for the provinces of Equatoria, Upper Nile, and Bahr-el-Ghazal, staffed and directed by southerners. The chance of meeting the desires of the South in peace, so that the fires of rebellion could be permanently extinguished, has been passed up. The vicious circle has once more been closed: As long as the rebellion lasts, no real autonomy can be assured, and as long as autonomy is not assured, the rebellion will last.

MORGENBLADET, Oslo  
January 23, 1971

Lars Korvald om Syd-Sudan og FN:

# „Norge bør våge å stå alene”

— Jeg vil gjerne se Norge som et foregangsland når det gjelder å forsvare de internasjonale menneskerettigheter, ved at vi spilte en mer aktiv rolle — f. eks. i FN — og at vi ikke måtte vike unna for å ta opp konkrete saker i internasjonale fora når medmenneskers liv, sikkerhet og frihet er i fare.

Det er formann i Kristelig Folkeparti, lagtingspresident Lars Korvald som sier dette til Morgenbladet i en kommentar til den treghet som hersker når det gjelder å få drøftet borgerkrigen i Syd-Sudan i FN.

Av GUNNAR MOE

Under utenriksdebatten i Stortinget i november ifjor, fremmet Korvald et forslag om at den norske regjering måtte ta et initiativ i denne saken i FN, og kreve at en granskningskommisjon ble sendt til området der borgerkrigen pågår, for så senere å fremlegge konkrete forslag til en løsning av den blodige konflikten.

— Er det skjedd noe med denne saken siden De tok den opp i Stortinget?

— Nei, sier Lars Korvald, — det vanlige er jo at slike forslag blir «samlet opp» av Regjeringen, som så — vanligvis en gang pr. år — sender ut en melding eller et dokument om hva den har foretatt seg i disse sakene. Hvis en stortingsrepresentant ønsker saken gjort til gjenstand for en realitetsvotering i Stortinget, da må han be om

slik votering med en gang. Ellers er vanlig praksis at forslagene blir vedlagt protokollen og oversendt Regjeringen.

— Hva tror De er den egentlige årsak til at ikke bare Norge, men de fleste land, viser så liten vilje til å ta den opp i FN saker som gjelder brudd på menneskerettighetene?

— Det virker mest som om det er formaliteter og en slags innebygget treghetsmekanisme i utenriks tjenesten, mener Korvald. — I særdeleshet gjelder dette overfor FN. Man unnskylder seg med formelle vanskeligheter: «det er ikke det rette tidspunkt», «vi vil ikke få støtte fra andre stater», osv.

— Men jeg tror imidlertid at Norge en gang iblant kunne koste på seg å stå alene om en sak der vi virkelig mener at noe bør gjøres, og hvor vi tror at FN kunne

utrette noe positivt. Tar vi en slik fast holdning, vil vi som regel også etterhvert få følge av andre. Norge er, etter min mening, i en slik posisjon at ingen vil kunne mistenke oss for å ta skjeve, særpolitiske hensyn om vi så klart ifra i slike saker.

— Ligger det kanskje politiske hensyn bak vår forsiktighet? Er vi redde for å komme litt på kant med stormaktene?

— Nei, det vil jeg nång tro, sier lagtingspresidenten bestemt. — Men det er mitt inntrykk at det ofres altfor lite oppmerksomhet på krenkelser av menneskerettighetene, selv om det er gledelig å registrere at både folkeopinionen og politikerne i sin almindelighet, i stigende utstrekning gjøres bevisste om at en mer aktiv linje er nødvendig for å beskytte disse rettigheter.

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"I would like to see Norway play a leading role when it comes to defending international human rights, by being more active -- in the United Nations, for example -- and by bringing up concrete issues in the international forum when human life, security, and liberty are in danger."

These words were spoken by Lars Korvald, president of the lower chamber of Parliament and chairman of the Christian People's Party, in an interview with this paper, commenting on the slow progress made in getting the civil war in southern Sudan discussed by the United Nations.

During the foreign policy debate in Parliament last November, Korvald proposed that the Norwegian government take the initiative in this matter at the UN, request that a committee of investigation be sent to the area affected by the civil war and later present concrete proposals for ending the bloody conflict.

We asked if anything had happened since he took the matter up in Parliament.

"No," said Lars Korvald. "Usually such proposals are 'picked up' by the government which then -- usually once a year -- issues a statement or a document on what it has done about them. If a parliamentary representative wants the matter brought up for a vote in Parliament, he must request such a vote at once. Otherwise, the customary procedure is to include the proposal in the minutes which are submitted to the government."

We asked what he thought was the reason why not just Norway but most countries seem so unwilling to discuss in the UN matters pertaining to breaches of human rights.

"Apparently formalities and a kind of built-in mechanism of sluggishness in foreign affairs offices," Korvald said. "This is especially true with regard to the UN. Formal difficulties are used as excuses -- 'This is not the right time,' or 'Other countries will not support our position,' and so forth.

"But it seems to me that once in a while Norway could take it upon itself to stand alone on an issue on which we really think action should be taken, when we feel that the UN could really do something positive. If we took such a firm stand, others would usually join us after a while. In my opinion Norway has such status that no one would suspect us of twisted political motives if we spoke out on such matters."

We asked if our caution might not be due to political motives. Was Norway afraid to step out of line with the great powers?

"No, that I would not believe," said the president of the lower house emphatically. "But it is my impression that too little attention is paid to encroachments on human rights, although I am happy to note that popular opinion and politicians in general are becoming more and more convinced that we must take a more active line in order to protect these rights."



NEW YORK TIMES  
January 23, 1971

CPYRGHT

## Africa's Hidden Wars

For a year the guns have been silent in Nigeria. The civil war that gripped the world's attention is ended; the Ibos who powered the Biafran secession are resigned—most of them—to working back their passage within a united Nigeria. But the first anniversary of Biafra's surrender serves as a reminder that three other bloody civil wars have been grinding on almost unnoticed in Africa.

These wars are humiliating for leaders of the new Africa and for the 41-nation Organization of African Unity, especially at a time when they are imploring the world to help end white minority rule in South Africa, Rhodesia and three Portuguese colonies. For all three wars involve ethnic and religious clashes comparable to those that helped provoke Nigeria's agony, comparable even to those behind the black-white confrontation farther south.

In the Sudan a Government dominated by the Arab-Moslem majority of the north has fought for fifteen years

to suppress a struggle for autonomy by the black pagan and Christian minority in the south. Two representatives of a black Sudanese liberation movement, in New York recently to petition the United Nations for help,

charged the Khartoum Government with a policy of "genocide against the four million blacks of the southern Sudan."

The situation is reversed next door in Chad where, even with the help since 1968 of several thousand French troops, President Tombalbaye's black and largely Christian Government has been unable to crush an insurrection of Arabic and largely Moslem northerners. Faced with France's decision to pull all its troops out of Chad during 1971, Mr. Tombalbaye has signed an agreement with several dissident leaders and is negotiating with others; but there is no indication to date of any peace moves involving the major rebel fighting force.

East of the Sudan, the Moslem-led Eritrean Liberation Front, which has struggled for nine years for independence from Ethiopia, recently charged Emperor Haile Selassie's Christian Government with attempting "mass annihilation of Eritreans."

With their fixation on the white regimes farther south, African governments have made no serious effort to halt these wars. The Organization of African Unity has not even set up a consultative committee as it did in a fruitless peace effort in Nigeria.

African leaders can say with justice that much responsibility for these cleavages in Africa rests with the colonial powers that drew state boundaries to suit their own convenience rather than for ethnic, religious and regional viability. They are less persuasive when they blame the steady exacerbation of old African feuds on "neo-colonialists" or "imperialists"—or on unnamed "outside nations and groups," as Emperor Haile Selassie did with regard to the Eritrean conflict this week.

In forming the Organization of African Unity the African governments agreed to live with those colonial boundaries and to strive to surmount them in a collective effort to build peace, prosperity and solidarity. Their effectiveness in extending majority rule to the rest of Africa will depend heavily on their ability to put their racial house in order north of the Zambesi and their success in halting the killing of African by African.

MORGENBLADET, Oslo  
January 26, 1971

CPYRGHT

## Sudanesisk prest til tysk avis:

# „Ti ganger verre enn i Syd-Afrika“

«Hvis et hvitt regime hadde behandlet oss slik Khartoum nu gjør, da ville utvilsomt hele verden rast og skreket opp. Men det som skjer i Syd-Sudan er ti ganger verre enn de tilstander som våre brødre i Syd-Afrika og Rhodesia må lide under.»

Det er en syd-sudanesisk, presbyteriansk prest som sier dette til Süddeutsche Zeitungs utsendte medarbeider Rudolph Chimelli, i en rapport datert januar 1971 (SZ 22. ds.)

Og som praktisk talt alle de yngre personer denne journalisten kom i kontakt

med, bekjente også denne presten seg til opprørsbevegelsen Anya-nya og dens politiske mål: Løsrivelse.

— Vi gjør ikke lenger noe fremkritt, vi bare faller tilbake klaget en katolsk prest seg til Chimelli. Det kirkesamtunnet han tilhører har klart å flikke på endel kirker, og har organisatorisk sett klart å bedre sine vilkår endel.

Men etterat samtlige 33 av denne kirkens hvite misjonærer ble utvist av den sudanesiske regjering i 1962, er byrden på de få innfødte presters skuldre blitt for tung. Selv prester fra andre arabiske og afrikanske land — som kunne hjelpe syd-sudaneserne — blir sjelden innvilget visum fra Khartoum-regjeringen.



### TVANGS- DEPORTASJON

Chimelli beretter om en helikoptertur han var med på fra Juba (hovedstaden i provinsen Ekvatoria) til distriktbyen Meridi, 240 km lenger vest. Helikopteret, en russisk Mi-8, ble fløyet av en sudanesiske pilot og med et mannskap som ellers bestod av både russere og egyptere, hadde også med seg soldater som holdt kontinuerlig utkikk etter mulige gerilja-soldater på bakken.

I Meridi ble de møtt av stedfortredende kommandant for den sydlige armégruppe, oberst Omar el Tayeb, som kunne fortelle de ankomne pressefolk at «tvangsdeportasjon var en av hjørnesteinene i regjeringens frigjøringspolitikk».

— Vi vil finne andre boplasser for folket. Derfor samler vi dem inn i skogene og på det åpne landet og får dem til å bosette seg i nærheten av byene. Målet er å hindre at opprørerne skal kunne blande seg med folket og bli forsørget av den lokale befolkning.

—Og hvis folket ikke vil bli med Deres soldater for å bygge slike «fredsbyer» — hva da? spurte journalistene obersten.

— Vi må ganske enkelt gjøre noe for dem. Det er historien gang. De innser ikke dette ennå, men senere vil de komme til å forstå det.

Med et selvtillfreds smil kunne han fortelle at over halvparten av dem om var blitt innfanget av troppene hadde blitt med til byene. Hva som skjedde med den andre halvparten sa han intet om, ifølge Chimelli.

### SLUM

Det er imidlertid tydelig at negrene i Syd-Sudan slett ikke forstår at regjeringssoldatene vil «gjøre noe» for dem. Flesteparten av mennene, som blir samlet inn som kveg på markene, rømmer fra «fredsbyene». De slutter seg til Anya-nya ute i bushen, eller de flykter over grensen til Etiopia, Congo eller Uganda, skriver Süddeutsche Zeitungs medarbeider. Og i gresshytteslommen rundt byene hersker

det stor armød. Som eksempel nevner han at Juba siden 1963 har hatt en befolknings-eksplosjon fra 18 000 til 63 000 innbyggere; Meridi fra 4000 til 15 000 i samme tidsrom. For så mange mennesker mangler man både arbeide, sanitæranlegg og så godt som alt annet.

Resultatet er demokratisering, kriminalitet, lediggang, prostitusjon.

### MELLOM BARKEN OG VEDE

Så langt befolkningen i syd er blitt tilbake ute på landsbygden, betyr borgerkrigen at stammefeidene er blitt langt sjeldnere og svakere. Men allikevel står landsbyene mellom barken og veden: Hvis de samarbeider med opprørerne, rammes de av regjeringstyrkenes straffe-ekspedisjoner. Hvis de er lojale mot regimet i Khartoum — noe som også forekommer — utsettes de for hensynsløse gjengjeldelsesaksjoner fra opprørernes side.

Det finnes stammer som bokstavelig talt er blitt revet i stykker i dette dilemma. Av Lapi-folket, som en gang tellet 30 000 mennesker, gjenstår der i dag kun noen få hundre som vegeterer i utkanten av Juba, beretter Chimelli som et eksempel på hva denne hensynsløse borgerkrigen har ført til.

Anya-nya (som rett oversatt betyr «giftig gress») tok i juni fjor den samlede separatistbevegelse under sine vinger (Anzania Liberation League, Suer Republic, Anidi Government, Nile Republic).

Lederen for denne fronten er en katolikk og tidligere løytnant, Joseph Lago. Hans nestkommanderende heter Samuel Abu John og er protestant og tidligere kaptein i hæren. Som nr. 2 kommer en tidligere major, protestanten Frederick Brian William Maggot.

Det sudanesiske hemmelige politi hevder at Lago står i nær kontakt med Israel, at han selv har vært i det landet og at han sender andre Anya-nya-krigere dit for militær utdannelse.

### HÆREN BINDES I SYD

Selv om Anya-nyas militære styrke regnes for å være ganske beskjeden, har den i hvert fall klart å oppnå at mesteparten av den sudanesiske hær må stå i Syd-Sudan. Og en stor del av veiene har Anya-nya klart å gjøre nesten ufremkommelige, ved å plassere miner og på grunn av den stadige truselen om overfall og gerilja-angrep.

—Når vi for bare ett år siden klarte å fange en opprører, så hadde han vanligvis bare to eller tre patroner på seg. Men i dag har de både bazookas og 2-tommers bombekastere, uttalte en bekymret offiser i regjeringstyrken til Rudolph Chimelli.

På regjeringshold fikk han også høre at uten de sovjetiske helikopterene ville ikke regjeringstyrkene ha store muligheter for å gripe inn mot Anya-nyas avdelinger. De ferdes ofte i så ulendt og vanskelig terreng, at det ville være det rene selvmord å forfølge dem. I disse områdene har opprørerne ofte den reelle kontroll, skriver Süddeutsche Zeitung.

## CPYRGHT

### CONDITIONS IN SUDAN TEN TIMES WORSE THAN IN SOUTH AFRICA

"If a white government treated us the way Khartoum does, the whole world would have risen up in protest. But what is going on in the southern Sudan is ten times worse than the conditions being endured by our brothers in South Africa and Rhodesia."

This statement was made by a southern Sudanese Presbyterian minister to Rudolph Chimelli, foreign correspondent for Suddeutsche Zeitung, in an interview dated January 1971 and appearing in that paper on 22 January.

Like almost all the younger people with whom the journalist came into contact, this minister believed in the rebel movement, the Anya-Nya, and in its political goal -- emancipation.

"We are no longer making any progress, we're just going backward," a Catholic priest complained to Chimelli. The religious society to which he belongs needs to repair some of its churches and must improve its organizational conditions.

But since 33 of the white missionaries of this church were ordered to leave the country in 1962 by the Sudanese government, the burden has fallen much too heavily on the shoulders of the few native priests. Even priests from other Arabian and African countries -- who would be able to help the South Sudanese -- are seldom granted visas by the Khartoum government.

#### Deportation

Chimelli told of a helicopter trip he took from Juba (capital of Equatoria province) to the town of Meridi, 240 kilometers to the west. The helicopter, a Russian Mi-8, was flown by a Sudanese pilot and manned by a crew of Russians and Egyptians. It also carried soldiers who kept a constant watch on the ground for guerillas.

In Meridi, they were met by the deputy commandant of the southern army forces, Colonel Omar el Tayeb, who told the arriving press representatives that "forced deportation was one of the cornerstones of the government's liberation policy."

"We will find other places for these people to live. That is why we are rounding them up in the jungle and from the open country and making them settle near the cities. Our goal is to prevent the rebels from mixing in with the people and from being supported by the local population.

The journalists asked the colonel what happened if the people did not want to join his soldiers in building these "peace villages."

"We simply have to do something for them. It is the course of history. They don't understand that yet, but they will understand it later on."

With a self-satisfied smile, he said that over half of those who had been caught by the troops had come along to the villages. He said nothing about what had happened to the other half, according to Chimelli.

#### Slum

However, it is very obvious that the Negroes of southern Sudan do not understand that the government soldiers want to "do something" for them. Most of the people who were rounded up like cattle from the fields run away from the "peace villages." They join the Anya-Nya out in the bush or cross the border to Ethiopia, the Congo, or Uganda, according to the correspondent for Suddeutsche Zeitung. And there is great poverty in the grass hut slums surrounding the cities. As an example, he mentioned that since 1963, Juba had suffered a population explosion from 18,000 to 63,000 inhabitants. Meridi's population had swelled from 4,000 to 15,000 in the same period. There is not enough employment, sanitary facilities, or anything else for that many people.

The result has been demoralization, criminality, unemployment, and prostitution.

#### Dilemma of Tribes

As long as the population in the south remains out in the country, the civil war serves to reduce the frequency and intensity of tribal feuds. Even so, the villages are faced with a dilemma -- if they cooperate with the rebels, they become targets for the government forces' punitive expeditions. If they are loyal to the government in Khartoum -- which does happen -- they are exposed to severe retaliatory actions by the rebels.

There are tribes that have literally been torn apart by this dilemma. Of the Lapi people, who used to number 30,000, there remain today only a few hundred who vegetate in the outskirts of Juba. Chimelli cites this as an example of what this ruthless civil war leads to.

The Anya-Nya (the proper translation of which would be "poison grass") took the entire separatist movement under its wing last June (Anzania Liberation League, Suer Republic, Anidi Government, Nile Republic).

The leader of this front is a Catholic and former lieutenant, Joseph Lagu. His second in command, Samuel Abu John, is a Protestant and former captain in the army. Next in line is a former major, a Protestant, Frederick Brian William Maggot.

The Sudanese secret police claim that Lagu is in close touch with Israel, that he has been to that country himself, and that he sends other Anya-Nya warriors there for military training.

#### Army Must Stay in South

Even if the military forces of the Anya-Nya are estimated to be quite limited, they have been able to make sure that the greater part

of the Sudanese army has to remain in southern Sudan. And the Anya-Nya have been able to render a large number of roads impassable because of mines and because of the constant threat of ambush and guerilla attack.

"Just a year ago, if we managed to capture a rebel, he usually had only two or three cartridges with him. But today they have bazookas and 2-inch grenade launchers," a worried officer in the government forces told Rudolph Chimelli.

Government sources also said that without the Russian helicopters, government forces would have little opportunity to attack Anya-Nya squads. They often operate over such rugged and difficult terrain that it would be sheer suicide to try to pursue them. In such areas, the rebels are often actually in control, according to Sueddeutsche Zeitung.

## AFRICA DIARY

January 29 - February 4, 1971

CPYRGHT

## 'Genocide' In South Alleged

Two representatives of a black Sudanese movement have claimed that the Arab-led Government of Sudan is using Egyptian and Libyan troops and Russian aircraft in the 16-year-old conflict between the Christian and pagan blacks of the south and the Muslims of the north. In what they described as an overt appeal to world public opinion, the two men described the policies carried out by the national Government in Khartoum "as genocide against the 4,000,000 blacks of southern Sudan".

"We call upon the nations of the free world to express their indignation at what is happening and to bring pressure to bear on the nations that supply armaments to Khartoum",

Mr. Laurence Wol Wol said in New York recently. He is a Sorbonne graduate who, as a member of the Southern Sudan Liberation Front, has presented a petition to the United Nations calling for the observer teams to investigate his charges of genocide.

The other spokesman, Mr. Frederick Muggotti, who identified himself as a colonel of Anyanya, the guerrilla army of the south, said that 25 Russian-built aircraft were being used to bombard the southern provinces and that Libyans and Egyptians were among the 25,000 troops fighting the rebels in the south. He said that in the past eight years some 250,000 black Sudanese had been shot and 250,000 had died of hunger. For its part, the Khartoum Government has accused outside forces of stirring up rebellion and secession. "They stirred up civil wars in the Congo and Nigeria and they are trying to play the same evil game in Sudan," Mr. al-Nimeiry, the Sudan Prime Minister, said in a recent interview in Khartoum.

(Times, London)

# THE THREATS OF SECESSION

CPYRGHT

THE germ of secession is growing again in Africa. Just recently, several areas in northern province of Ethiopia were placed under state of emergency. Reason? Because of banditry and subversion.

An Ethiopian Government statement published in the official gazette, alleged that "foreign sponsored bandits, trained and armed with modern weapons, were attempting to undermine Ethiopia's sovereignty and integrity."

The emergency order affected areas in Eritrea enclosing a six-mile belt along the sea coast and Sudanese border. In this area, a group of Eritreans, operating under the umbrella of Eritrean Liberation Front, have demanded independence for the territory.

And in Southern Sudan, a group of unpatriotic citizens known as "Anyar Nya South Sudan Freedom Fighters", are reported to have intensified their campaign for the secession of Southern Sudan from the rest of the country and have taken up arms against the Government.

## Serious concern

The situation in Ethiopia and Sudan should cause alarm and serious concern to all patriotic Africans who abhor the concept of secession as a means of settling political differences.

by

**JAMES UMOH**

Ten years ago, it was Congo. We had thought that Africans would learn a lesson from that blood bath. Then it happened in Nigeria. Must we allow it to happen in Ethiopia, Sudan or any other African country? And if we must not allow it to happen, is it not proper that we kill this dangerous germ of secession before it grows too big to cause a menace?

It is not yet known which of the foreign Governments are actually behind the rebellion in Ethiopia. But the fact that the Ethiopian Government has officially alleged that foreign Governments sponsored, trained and armed the rebels with modern weapons, is enough to keep every patriotic African standing on the alert.

The question here is not about the merits and demerits of Eritrean Liberation Front that is championing the cause of independence of the Eritrean people. The question is whether Africans can again afford to kill one another on the instigation of foreigners, no matter the reason.

In this wise, it becomes imperative for the Ethiopian Government to en-

the very reactionary force which propped up and sustained the rebellion in Nigeria are solidly behind the Sudanese rebels.

Ironically, the same forces that backed Nigeria to victory are also said to be supporting the Sudanese Government.

Sudan, which is the main link between Africa and the Arab world — as the two races inhabit the country — is religiously divided between the Moslem north and the Christian south. It is this that the rebels are exploiting to sustain their ignoble cause.

Recently, the South Sudanese Freedom Fighters appealed to the Pope for aid, charging the Sudanese Government with committing genocide against the people of Southern Sudan.

In their appeal, they described themselves as the "Southern Sudanese Catholics along with other Christian brethren living under extreme repression in our homeland or as refugees in friendly African countries under the foot of the Sudanese Arabs."

The rebels further alleged that "Russians soldiers were directing the Sudanese Arab soldiers in their war to stamp out Christianity from our country and to exterminate our African civilisation.....killing and maiming our defenceless people."

We in Nigeria, are very familiar with this type of allegation. It was the one

lighten the people of Africa with the real situation. At the moment, very little seems to be known. Those foreigners sponsoring the Ethiopian rebellion, should be named openly.

All available facts should be placed before the Organisation of African Unity to enable the OAU intervene with a view to seeking peaceful ways of settling the conflict.

A once and for all lasting but peaceful settlement should be effected as urgently as possible. This can be possible if the OAU is involved now that the dispute has not got out of control.

## Reactionary force

In the case of Southern Sudan, it is clear that

Ojukwu power and to obtain massive aid from the world Roman Catholics through the notorious CARITAS under the pretext of protecting the Christian East from "onslaught" of the Moslem North. It is not likely that the same can happen in Sudan? And must we allow it to happen?

It is not necessary now to recall the full background of the crisis. It is a known fact that for a long time, there has always been the conflict between the Arab north and African south of Sudan. This often centred around the accusation by the Africans that the Arabs were wielding political and economic power to their disadvantage and were trying to subjugate christianity to Islam.

It was only in the last decade that the conflict was intensified with gradual demands for secession particularly during the era of General Ibrahim Aboud who seized

power in 1958 on the allegation that Sudan was "threatened with degeneration, instability and chaos."

The Southern Sudan problem began to plague the regime of Aboud in 1963 leading from one crisis to another up to October 1964 when 17 people were killed as they marched to the palace where Aboud lived to protest against the earlier killing of a student of Khartoum University in previous revolt.

## Solution to conflict

It was the same Southern Sudan problem which forced Aboud to resign on November 15, 1964 after ruling for six years.

The demand for secession became more pronounced with the emergence of left wing regime of General Numeiry in May last year. Shortly after he had taken over

the unity of the country, an attempt was made on his life when he visited Southern Sudan. Several rebels were killed in clashes with Government troops. Presently, a campaign to eliminate the rebels is said to be going on in Sudan.

While it is recognised that there is a southern Sudan problem, it must also be recognised that the solution to this conflict cannot be found in secession.

## Military campaign

The Sudanese Arabs and Africans, with a proper understanding and co-operation can and should live together happily. While the military campaign goes on; perhaps unannounced to smash the rebels, the Sudanese Government should take urgent but positive steps to seek a much

of the conflict.

No matter how progressive the programme of General Numeiry may be, its success depends on all Sudanese hands being on deck. It is a vital fact the Sudanese Government cannot afford to overlook. Besides, it will be to the eternal credit of General Numeiry, if he succeeds in forging a happy multi-racial society.

TIEMPO, Montevideo  
January 29, 1971

# LOS CATOLICOS SUDANESES SUPPLICAN A SU SANTIDAD

CPYRGHT

25 de mayo de 1970

Santísimo Padre:

Nosotros, católicos del Sudán meridional en conjunto con otros hermanos cristianos y compatriotas musulmanes que vivimos sujetos a extrema represión en nuestra Patria o refugiados en países africanos amigos, de nuevo suplicamos a Su Santidad que tome cuenta de nuestra triste condición y haga oír su voz benévola en bien de nosotros.

El año pasado intentamos poner en conocimiento de Su Santidad la situación de nuestro pueblo bajo la bota de los árabes sudaneses. No se nos ocurría entonces que en espacio de un solo mes el Gobierno en Jartum sufriría un cambio que acarrearía aun mayores represiones, esta vez bajo el influjo de una potencia extranjera —la Unión de Repúblicas Socialistas Soviéticas.

Precisamente mientras escribimos a Su Santidad los tanques soviéticos retumban por las calles y los reactores soviéticos MIG-21 sobrevuelan el desfile en conmemoración del Día de la Revolución Africana. Ayer esos mismos tanques y aviones actuaban en el Sudán meridional, matando y mutilando a nuestro pueblo indefenso, y mañana volverán a continuar su

misión de muerte y estragos. Desde el cambio de gobierno en mayo nuestro pueblo se ha habido al espectáculo de soldados rusos al mando de soldados árabes sudaneses en su guerra por aplastar el Cristianismo en nuestro país y exterminar nuestra civilización africana.

Esta guerra de los árabes contra el Cristianismo no es cosa nueva en el Sudán, donde reinos Católicos Ortodoxos como Makuria y Alwa fueron destruidos por inmigrantes árabes de Arabia en el siglo XII de la Era Cristiana.

Hacia la segunda mitad del siglo XIX el Siervo del Señor, monseñor Comboni, penetró en el Sudán a la cabeza de un puñado de gallardos y devotos misioneros y de nuevo enarboló la Bandera de la Salvación. A la desesperación reemplazó la esperanza. Cuando germinaba la simiente del Cristianismo una segunda tragedia azotó a la naciente Iglesia, la cual fue troncada por la revuelta mahdista.

La mejor descripción de la revuelta mahdista que casi destruyó la obra de la Iglesia hace 70 años es la del R. P. Joseph Ohrwalder en su libro "Diez años de cautiverio". En él decía: "El adelanto de 50 años fue arruinado por la revuelta mahdista. El Sudán volvió a caer en las tinieblas de las cuales lo

había resesado la filantropía. La civilización quedó anegada en el torrente del fanatismo. El signo de la salvación fue borrado sus portadores encadenados como esclavos y la bandera de la tiranía ondeó sobre las ruinas humeantes de Darfur al Mar Rojo y de Regaf a la segunda catarata. Partidas de fanáticos han barrido por sobre la faz de la tierra, destruyendo todo signo cristiano. El Sudán yace abierto en su desolación y desnudez".

La paz fue restablecida por los ingleses durante sus 50 años de gobierno. A los misioneros cristianos les fue de nuevo autorizado el proselitismo en el Sudán meridional. Durante la tutela inglesa los misioneros laboraron sin cesar predicando la Palabra de Dios al buen pueblo del Sudán meridional. Varios centenares de miles abrazaron al Cristianismo, y después de 62 años de dura labor el Cristianismo alcanzaba a la tercera generación en algunas familias. Los buenos misioneros también fundaron escuelas y enseñaron técnicas modernas. Los centros cristianos del saber se multiplicaron. Nos enorgullece mencionar aquí que todo sudanés meridional instruido era egresado de los centros cristianos. Los primeros sacerdotes católicos naturales del Sudán meridional fueron ordenados en 1944. Desde los buenos Padres de Verona han estado pacientemente preparando clero local —curas, religiosas y religiosos—. El progreso fue rápido y el futuro del Cristianismo estuvo casi asegurado en el Sudán meridional.

Suplicamos a Su Santidad ser indulgente con nosotros mientras repasamos esta pequeña historia ya que pone de relieve la calamidad que ha sobrevenido ahora a la Iglesia y que amenaza la destrucción total de los cristianos sudaneses. El año pasado la amenaza provenía de los nuevos retoños de los inmigrantes árabes que dos veces destruyeron el Cristianismo en nuestra parte de África. Hoy esa cruel fuerza árabe es azuzada y enormemente reforzada por la URSS, que quisiera ver destruida la Iglesia en el Sudán meridional, ya que el Cristianismo es anatema para el éxito de los designios soviéticos.

Cuando Inglaterra cedió la independencia a los sudaneses, los del norte tenían vara alta. Disponían del poder tanto político como económico. Esos árabes, obsesados por el anhelo de subyugar al Mediodía cristiano, elaboraron políticas dirigidas a la total islamización y arabización del pueblo sudanés meridional.

Nuestra voluntad de rechazar y resistirnos a esta forzosa islamización y arabización de nuestra cultura cristiana y africana creó inevitablemente la actual lucha armada entre Mediodía y Septentrión.

Respaldados por el mundo comunista soviético y árabe, los árabes sudaneses, no pudiendo doblegar el espíritu del pueblo sudanés meridional, están dispuestos a erradicarnos de la faz de la tierra mientras el mundo entero observa y nada hace. El futuro es realmente sombrío y tenebroso para nosotros sudaneses meridionales y para el Cristianismo.

Cuando el año pasado vimos a Su Santidad durante su peregrinación a Uganda nos nutrimos de

gran fuerza moral y valor de dicha experiencia, y habíamos aprendido a confiar en nuestra lucha en defensa de nuestra Patria y nuestra Fe. Su Santidad deberá también derivar valor de ella.

Esta nueva voluntad a resistirnos a la islamización y arabización de nuestro pueblo por la fuerza ha traído una nueva ola de sufrimiento a nuestra tierra y nuestro pueblo. La espada islámica ahora se encubre tras los tanques soviéticos y los fanáticos musulmanes del norte dan muerte sistemáticamente a nuestro pueblo con cohetes y bombas incendiarias fabricados en la URSS. Tengo que repetir los hechos de nuevo para enfatizar nuestra situación. Ya más de 500 mil hombres, mujeres y niños han perecido baleados, quemados, vivos en sus chozas o muertos de hambre y enfermedad. Otros tantos han tenido que escapar de su Patria en busca de refugio en los vecinos estados de Uganda, Kenia, Etiopía y la República Centroafricana. El resto de la población en el Sudán es una población de refugiados que se ocultan en las selvas y los montes. Su situación es en verdad penosa. Viven en constante temor y siempre en fuga desolada. Heridos de muerte por las balas soviéticas, otros miles perecen de enfermedad y de hambre. Casi seis de cada diez recién nacidos mueren de malaria y de una multitud de endemias tropicales. Miles de niños mueren cada año de desnutrición por falta de alimentación vitamínica. Miles mueren por exposición a la intemperie. Pilotos árabes en aviones MIG rusos han destruido totalmente las viviendas y el ganado vacuno, cabrio y lanar en muchas partes del país. Hospitales y escuelas han sido destruidos, clausurados o convertidos en cuarteles militares. La población está moribunda y su situación inspira lástima. Carece de refugio permanente y se guarece bajo árboles infestados de mosquitos y en cuevas. Si el mundo permanece indiferente a la agonía del Sudán meridional, no quedará vivo en él ningún cristiano en unos cuantos años.

Era de esperarse que los otros estados africanos se irguieran en nuestra defensa contra esta conjura árabe para cometer el genocidio en toda una nación africana, pero no lo han hecho. No nos queda otra esperanza en la humanidad ni en los Consejos Mundiales de paz, salvo en la Iglesia de la cual es jefe Su Santidad. De nuevo suplicamos a Su Santidad que otorgue al pueblo sudanés meridional su bendición paternal y pontifical para que podamos mantenernos firmes en nuestra resolución de defender nuestra Fe y echar de nuestra Patria a las tropas extranjeras.

Padre Santo, nosotros sus hijos e hijas en Jesucristo comprometemos nuestra lealtad a la Iglesia de Dios, asegurándole que aceptaremos el genocidio antes que permitir que por tercera vez se destruya el Cristianismo en nuestra tierra.

Quedo con filial devoción: Cnel. Joseph Lagu.  
A Su Santidad Pablo VI, a nombre de Afia-Na  
Combatientes de Libertad del Sudán Meridional.

TIEMPO, Montevideo  
January 29, 1971

25 May 1970

YOUR HOLINESS,

We Southern Sudanese Catholics along with other Christian brethren and Muslim countrymen living under extreme repression in our homeland or as refugees in friendly African countries appeal once more to Your Holiness to take stock of our plight and raise your benevolent voice

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Last year we attempted to enlighten the Veronians of our people under the foot of the Sudanese Arabs. Little did we know then that in only one month's time the Government in Khartoum would undergo a change which would bring about even greater repressions, this time under the influence of a foreign power — the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Even as we write to you, Soviet tanks are rumbling through the streets and Soviet MIG-21 Jets are flying overhead in a parade to commemorate African Revolution Day. Yesterday these same tanks and planes were in action in Southern Sudan, killing and maiming our defenceless people, and tomorrow they will return to continue their mission of death and havoc. Since the change of government in May of last year our people have grown accustomed to the sight of Russian soldiers directing the Sudanese Arab soldiers in their war to stamp out Christianity from our country and to exterminate our African Civilisation.

This war of the Arabs against Christianity is not new in the Sudan, where Orthodox Catholic Kingdoms such as Makuria and Alwa were destroyed by Arab immigrants from Arabia in the 12th Century Anno Domini.

Towards the second half of the 19th Century the Servant of the Lord, Mgr. Comboni, led a handful of gallant and dedicated Missionaries into the Sudan and once more raised aloft the Flag of Salvation. Despair was replaced by hope. As the new seeds of Christianity took root, the second tragedy struck the infant Church which was nipped in the bud by the Mahdist revolt.

The Mahdi's revolt which almost destroyed the work of the Church 70 years ago is best described by the Rev. Fr. Joseph Ohrwalder in his book "Ten Years in Captivity". In it he said: "The progress of 50 years was ruined by the Mahdist revolt. The Sudan fell back into the darkness from which philanthropy had rescued it. Civilisation was swamped in the flood of fanaticism. The sign of Salvation was blotted out, the bearers of it chained as slaves and the flag of tyranny waved over smoking ruins from Darfur to the Red Sea and from Regaf to the second cataract. Bands of fanatics have swept over the face of the land, destroying every Christian sign. The Sudan lies open in its desolation and nakedness."

Peace was restored by the British during their 56 years of rule. Christian Missionaries were again permitted to proselytize in Southern Sudan. During British tutelage the Missionaries worked relentlessly preaching the word of God to the good people of Southern Sudan. Several hundred thousands embraced Christianity and, after 62 years of hard work some Christianity reached into the third generation in some families. The good Missionaries also opened schools and taught modern skills. Christian institutions of learning became widespread. We are proud to mention here that every single educated Southern Sudanese graduated from Christian institutions. The first Southern Sudanese Catholic priests got ordained in 1944. Since then the good Verona Fathers had been patiently producing local clergy — priests, sisters and brothers. Progress was rapid and the

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We beg Your Holiness to bear with us in our reviewing this little history as it heightens the calamity which has now befallen the Church and which threatens the total destruction of the Sudanese Christians. A year ago the threat came from the new offspring of the Arab immigrants that twice destroyed Christianity in our part of Africa. Today this cruel Arab force is urged on and mightily reinforced by USSR which would like to see the destruction of the Church in Southern Sudan, as Christianity is anathema to the success of Soviet designs.

When Britain handed independence to the Sudanese, the north-erners had the upper hand. They wielded both political and economic power. These Arabs, obsessed by the desire to subjugate the Christian South, made policies aimed at the total Islamisation and Arabicisation of the Southern Sudanese people.

Our will to reject and resist this forced Islamisation and Arabici-sation of our Christian and African culture inevitably created the present armed struggle between South and North.

Supported by the entire Soviet Communist and Arab world, the Sudanese Arabs, unable to break the spirit of the Southern Sudanese people, are determined to eradicate us from the face of the earth while the whole world looks on and does nothing. The future is indeed bleak and gloomy for us in Southern Sudan and for Christianity.

When we saw your Holiness last year during your pilgrimage to Uganda we drew great moral strength and courage from the experience and we found a renewed spiritual impetus for our struggle to defend our Homeland and our Faith. Your Holiness should also draw courage from that.

This new will to resist the Islamisation and Arabicisation of our people by force has naturally brought a new wave of misery to our land and people. The Islamic sword now takes cover behind Soviet tanks and the Moslem fanatics of the North are systematically killing our people with rockets and fire bombs made in USSR. I must repeat the facts once more in order to emphasize our plight. Already more than 500,000 men, women and children have perished either shot dead, burnt alive in their huts or died from famine and disease. A similar number have been forced to flee their Homeland as refugees in neighbouring states of Uganda, Congo, Kenya, Ethiopia and Central African Republic. The rest of the population inside the Sudan is a refugee population hiding inside jungles and mountains. Their plight is indeed pitiful. They live permanently in

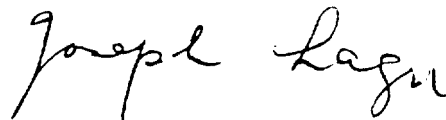
fear and are always on the run. Besides being killed by Soviet bullets daily, thousands die from disease and famine. Nearly six newly born babies out of ten die from malaria and a host of other tropical diseases. Thousands of children die each year from malnutrition as a result of shortages in vitamin giving foods. Thousands perish from exposure to bad weather. Arab pilots in Russian MIGs have destroyed every single home, cattle, goats and sheep in many parts of the country. Hospitals and schools have been either destroyed, closed or turned into military barracks. The entire population is a dying one, their conditions are pathetic. They have no permanent shelter, but hide under mosquito-infested trees and in caves. If the world remains indifferent to the agony of the Southern Sudan there will not be a Christian life left there in a few years to come.

We would hope that other African states would rise to our defence against this Soviet Arab conspiracy to perform genocide on an entire African nation but they have not. We have no hope left in humanity nor in the World Councils of peace except in the Church of which you are head. Once more we beg Your Holiness to give the Southern Sudanese people your Paternal and Pontifical blessing so that we shall remain firm in our determination to defend our Faith and to drive the foreign troops from our homeland.

Your Holiness, we your sons and daughters in Christ do pledge to you once more our loyalty to the Church of God assuring you that we will accept genocide rather than allow Christianity to be destroyed in our country for the third time.

I am

with filial devotion

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Joseph Lagu'. The script is cursive and fluid, with the first name 'Joseph' and the last name 'Lagu' clearly distinguishable.

Col. Joseph Lagu

on behalf of The Anya Nya  
South Sudan Freedom Fighters

His Holiness Paul VI

# WITH APACHE ON THE LEFT BANK ARABS USE SOVIET ARMS TO MASSACRE NEGROES

CPYRGHT

**W**hile the whole world is in an uproar over Britain selling arms to South Africa which might be used against Africans, not a whimper of protest is heard about the Soviet arms that are not only being used to kill the Sudanese, but have been used against them for several years past.

## OPEN GENOCIDE

As for the war in Sudan, which for the past few years has been coming close to outright genocide, this is not hypothetical butchery in some distant future, but something that is taking place right now, with non-aligned nations conveniently looking the other way because it suits their interests.

That the murder of Negroes in the Sudan has been ignored does not make it any the less dreadful. The details of this one-sided conflict have been recorded in all their gory detail on several occasions, but the same "liberals" whose tearduc's are so sorely affected by Vietnam don't seem to give a damn.

One particularly vivid pictorial account of this one-sided conflict was given over Norwegian television. An equally harrowing tale is told in "Sudan - An African Tragedy" by Per Yvind Heradstveit. The authors of these accounts bluntly called what was going on in the Sudan "murder of a nation," but the Norwegian Foreign Ministry, with customary diplomatic down-playing, put on its rose-tinted spectacles and announced that these accounts were exaggerated and that the situation in South Sudan was improving.

In order to clear up who was right and who was wrong, the reputed journal *Aftenposten* decided to check Heradstveit's findings and to quiz him in an interview.

The following are extracts from the article by *Aftenposten's* Audun Tjomsland:

**T**he controversy over television reporter Per Yvind Heradstveit's claims about the war in the Sudan will undoubtedly flare up again when his book about the Sudan is published in the near future.

Here he repeats claims denied by the Norwegian Ministry

Foreign Affairs and, among other things, uses the phrase "murder of a nation". Regardless of who comes closest to the truth, Heradstveit has done a great deal to bring this "forgotten war" into the light.

Heradstveit made a trip last summer that lasted for about a month, travelling both in North and South Sudan.

## INESCAPABLE REALITY

In his TV programmes Heradstveit drew a number of far-reaching conclusions. Among other things he used the expression "murder of a nation" to describe the Arab rulers' actions against the Negro population in the South.

When this conclusion was rejected by Foreign Minister Sverre Stray, the TV reporter said: "I do not want this to be a conflict over words. The essential factor is that we must open our eyes to what is happening in the Sudan, whatever we choose to call it."

Genocide is usually defined as the killing of members of a group of people with the aim of completely or partially annihilating national, ethnic, racial or religious groups - and this is the word ("folkemord" in Norwegian) that Heradstveit used.

Heradstveit in his book has put aside his professional mask of neutrality and objectivity. And he does not try to conceal this fact. After having been led to the remains of a church in the country town of Banja, where 28 people were murdered, Heradstveit wrote:

"I heard about Arab massacres in the Sudan. I had taken these reports with a grain of salt. Now I saw it for myself."

It has later been confirmed by other sources that the massacre in Banja took place under conditions exactly as described to the Norwegian TV team at the actual site.

The world found out about it because two reporters accidentally arrived on the scene just afterwards. No one knows how many similar events have taken place, Heradstveit says.

Since Heradstveit and Stabrun (his TV colleague) entered previously closed areas in South Sudan, in June 1970, new reports on the Arabs' oppression of the Negro population in the South have been made.

Among others, Bishop Lino Tiboi, in a letter to the two television reporters from Aba in the Congo, has written that Arab soldiers attacked a village and killed at least five people, while the rest of the inhabitants fled into the forests.

In the London Times there is a report of another occasion when six people were killed.

## NORWEGIAN FEELING

What does the Norwegian Government feel?

"We do not deny that the situation is serious, we do not doubt that there are acts of oppression by both sides, and we do not, of course, doubt the TV team's pictures at all," says Department Head Tim Greve, of the Foreign Ministry, to *Aftenposten*. "But we have made our investigations during the course of a year prior to Heradstveit's and Stabrun's coming to the Sudan, and we believe we are able to prove our statements that the conclusions are exaggerated."

However, he cannot reveal what sources the Foreign Ministry bases its claims on.

On the opposite side, Heradstveit claims: "I cannot say anything besides the fact that we have been in South Sudan, have seen the charred remains of bones and smelled the corpses, and have been with people who have been subjected to Arab violence. And I am not willing to back down an inch."

South African apartheid is a blot on civilisation which no decent man will uphold, but it is appalling that those who condemn White racism suddenly go blind, deaf and dumb when dealing with other versions of the same disease.

If it is criminal for South African Whites to turn guns on South African Blacks, it is equally abhorrent for the Arab minority in the Sudan to turn its guns on the African majority that inhabits the southern regions of that country.

The arms that Britain plans to provide South Africa in return for facilities at the Simons'own base are being given for purely strategic reasons that Britain considers essential to its security. The Third World, used to looking at everything with blinkers on, refuses to see the necessity for the Western nations to have a base in the Indian Ocean at all but does not mind in the least if Russian vessels virtually take over the area.

Mr Swaran Singh at Singapore, when faced point blank with evidence of Soviet naval base all round the Indian Ocean perimeter, flew in the face of facts by claiming there were no bases at all.

He went on to argue that there was a vast difference between "facilities" given to the Soviets and the communication base that Britain and America intend to establish in Diego Garcia.

When specifically confronted with the naval base of Socotra, recently given to the Soviets by the Republic of Yemen, Swaran Singh retorted that no such base existed - because the Soviets had denied it and South Yemen had replied to his queries in the negative.

Swaran Singh must be singularly naive to take such assertions at face value. No country is going to blazon such deals to the world.

He also adds that the information he was given in Khartoum agreed completely with what his critics said but which, according to him, does not present the true picture at all.

Heradstveit quotes a captain named "Michael" from the Anya-Nya (the South Sudan rebel movement) on the situation. "They (the Arabs) do not want us Negroes in the Sudan", Michael says. "They want to wipe us out. They want the land, the fields, the pastures. They want to control the Nile. They do not want us in a united Sudan. They will wipe us out."

"At this moment hundreds of people are dying of undernourishment in the bush. They have never seen a doctor, they have never had enough to eat. If this is not murder of a people, I cannot understand what you can call it."

Heradstveit comments: "But the world keeps quiet and accepts what is happening."

As a summary of the factors behind the conflict, Heradstveit writes the following in his book:

"Racial conflicts there have always been between the Arabs in the North and the Negroes in the South. As an overshadowing, dominant fact is the Arabs' feeling that the people in the South are like helpless children at another phase of historical development, and that they are not 'mature' enough to rule themselves or to have any influence on the central government."

#### EQUALLY RACIST

"In many ways we recognise the pattern from the thought-processes among the Whites in Rhodesia and South Africa. It is tragic that the African people in many ways are not 'better' than the worst of the White racists. And the most tragic fact of all, perhaps, is that the Arabs themselves are not conscious of this condition."

According to Heradstveit this is the starting point for a war that has been discussed very little and which has been described as "the forgotten war."

The new regime which came into power during the summer of 1969 has recognised the relationship with the population in the South as Sudan's greatest problem and has formally given the southern provinces regional self-government.

The new President, Gaafar Nimeiri, has declared that the following four measures will be put into effect:

The law of amnesty would be expanded. Southern Sudan would be developed socially and culturally, with emphasis on economic progress. A Minister for Southern affairs would be appointed. Education of the Southern Sudanese for various sectors within the administration would be started.

Heradstveit says in his book that Nimeiri's Government has shown a willingness to improve the situation. But he concludes by saying that not much has been done. The people are no longer satisfied with words. They want to see action, and there has been no action.

Norwegian television's findings are fully corroborated by Oslo's leading daily *Morgenbladet*. On December 3, it carried an article by Gunnar Moe, not only indicating genocide against South Sudanese, but charging the Russians with providing the weapons that the Arab Government in Khartoum was using against the Negro population of the South. The following is taken from Moe's report in *Morgenbladet*:

The civil war in South Sudan is entering a new and more serious phase. The Khartoum Government has begun an intensive offensive with bombers, helicopters, napalm and motorised infantry to crush "once and for all" the rebel organisation Anya-Nya.

This great offensive, which is directed by Soviet "advisers", was begun in the middle of September last year according to several sources.

Russian bombers in great sweeps systematically bomb the jungle where rebels are hiding. They use both napalm and ordinary bombs. After that, Arabs come with tanks, infantry, parachute troops and helicopters. The jungle is "thoroughly combed". Behind all this, the Russian military advisers then follow.

Aircraft used are Russian MiG-21 and Antonov bombers, as well as MI-8 helicopters. The *Daily Telegraph* reported on 17 October, 1970 that an additional 27 Russian bombers had arrived at Khartoum airport for delivery to the Sudanese Air Force. For two and a half months, the offensive went on, while the world is little informed about the blood bath.

Khartoum no longer attempts to conceal that a battle is being waged in the south. On 9 November, 1970, Defence Minister General Khaled Hassan Abbas held a press conference in which he said that the Government forces had

captured four rebel bases and two landing strips for aircraft, which the rebels used to move in arms, medicine and food. Large quantities of military equipment, anti-aircraft guns, mines, mortar and automatic rifles were also seized, said Abbas.

Reports about this were carried in, among others, the French newspaper *Le Monde*. The British *Evening Standard* also reported that "about 60 Soviet-equipped and to a great extent also Soviet-manned MiG-21 jet aircraft now are stationed at the town of Juba", the capital of the southern province, Equatoria.

The Sudanese Minister for South Sudan, Joseph Garang, recently confirmed that a constant escalation of the war is taking place in the three southern provinces and recommended that greater military pressure must be exerted from Khartoum.

The active presence of the Soviets in Sudan is not accidental. The Russians hope to secure for themselves a solid military and political foothold in the country. In the same way as they supported the central government in Nigeria during the conflict with Biafra, they now have no scruples about helping Prime Minister Nimeiri in Sudan to crush the Negro rebels in the south.

The problem is only to get "the job done" as discreetly as possible. The publicity which now begins to follow in the tracks of the civil war, does not particularly please Khartoum.

As is known, the matter was taken up in the last debate on foreign affairs in the Norwegian Parliament, but Foreign Minister Stray answered that it "would not be correct to deliberately portray the situation as being worse than it is according to the factual information which is obtained from a number of sources."

We ask again: What are the sources of the Foreign Ministry? Where have they been in order to obtain "factual information?" It is important to know this now — since a long line of internationally recognised press organs, journalists and news bureaus claim the exact opposite of that which the Norwegian Foreign Ministry sources maintain.

From this article one can see that the Soviets while they keep prodding their client states to raise a howl against the supposed militarism of the West, and who keep South African racialism to the forefront, quietly pursue geno-

cidal policies themselves.

This should not be in the least surprising. In Stalin's day whole nations were removed from their ancestral land and sent to perish in exile.

Small races like the Chichen-Ingush were totally wiped out. Larger ethnic groups like the Crimean Tatars were banished, but not allowed back even after they had been rehabilitated on the charges against them being proved to be totally false.

There is something intensely odious about nations with blood, on their hands trying to preach peace to the world — and that is exactly what Russia is doing.

ATLAS

February 1971

## THE MAKINGS OF A SECOND BIAFRA

CPYRGHT

*Race and religion split the Sudan*

From THE SUNDAY TIMES, London

More and more reports from the Sudan have told of rising rebel resistance from the black tribes of the South to rule by the Arab North. Even a coup by the leftist military junta of Gafaar al Nimeiry has failed to settle the vexing question of autonomy. *The Times* of London has a worried report from Anthony Nutting, after a trip to the Sudan saying that racial and religious overtones and the combination of hysteria on the rebels' side and confusion in Khartoum threaten a new Biafra. Joining the fray are an observer who takes the rebels' part in a letter to *The Times* and a mercenary whose last main engagement before the Sudan was in Biafra. He is interviewed in Hamburg's *Die Welt*.

IN THE HEART of Central Africa an almost forgotten war is being waged which has all the makings of a second Biafra. For most of the last 14 years, since the Sudan gained its independence from British rule, the three southern provinces have been conducting a running battle for secession against successive governments in Khartoum.

Periodically a lull in the fighting enables the local Sudanese administration to establish a few more "peace villages," where life can return to normal under the protection of the army or the police. But, as happened just before my visit in October, the rebels—or Anyanya, as they call themselves from the local word for the viper venom which is their emblem—soon resume their harassing tactics. Roads are mined, army convoys are ambushed and the peace villages become once again isolated clearings in a hostile jungle.

I did not gain much cheer from talking to the Anyanya leaders in Uganda, whose attitude showed a militancy which would have done justice to Biafra's Colonel Ojukwu in his most perverse moments. While protesting that, if the Sudanese government genuinely wanted a settlement, they should offer to

sit round a table and negotiate with the rebels, they made it clear equally that the only basis on which the Anyanya would negotiate was absolute independence for the South, which no one in Khartoum could accept.

They refused even to consider the present government's proposals which would give the South regional autonomy within a united Sudan and insisted that, as Africans, they wanted no truck with an Arab regime which wanted to Arabize and Islamize them as all previous Khartoum regimes had done.

Today no less than in the past, North and South are divided by a "grass curtain" with the difference between the sides as stark as the contrast of the rich red soil and tropical abundance of Equatoria with the arid desert wastes of Nubia, Kardofan and Darfur.

I am convinced from my talks with Nimeiry and his ministers in Khartoum that they genuinely believe their policy of regional autonomy is the best way to bring peace to the South and keep it within a united Sudan. Certainly it is a considerable advance on anything offered by their predecessors.

But in an area without as yet a common language among the

major tribes, without modern roads or railways and where the tribesmen are at roughly the same stage of civilization as Britain before the Roman conquest, it is hard to see how regional autonomy can be much more than a paper project for many years to come. And the danger is that, if the Anyanya keep up their harassments for another two to three years, the Nimeiry government will be forced to maintain martial law and will be unable to show any progress with its "southernization" programs. Disillusionment in the South could then spread like wildfire and another Biafra become inevitable.

As I learned from the display of captured rebel arms at army headquarters in Juba and from information given by Anyanya deserters and prisoners, Israeli officers, helped by West German "mercenaries," veterans of Biafra, are training and supplying the rebels with equipment ranging from American medical kits to Russian and Chinese weapons captured from the Egyptians and Palestinians.

But if, over the South, the Nimeiry government has been the

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victim of the mistakes and machinations of others since it seized power in 1969, it is not making the problem any easier to solve by pursuing an economic policy which involves nationalizing and confiscating foreign and Sudanese private enterprise with a socialist insouciance that takes too little account of the country's real economic needs.

No doubt previous governments had allowed some cobwebs of corruption to spread through Sudanese business and commerce. But Nimeiry's new broom has not only swept away the cobwebs, it has also removed much of the essential furniture.

**T**he Sudanese pound's value on the free market has fallen to a half of the official exchange rate. With the cotton crop mortgaged to Russia for the next three years, trade is being steadily diverted towards the Soviet bloc, and the Sudan's balance of trade

with Britain and the West plunges ever deeper into the red.

Not that Nimeiry and his Revolutionary Command Council are unaware of the risks they are running. The disinclination they showed to discuss economic problems when I called on them seemed to suggest that they were more bewildered than complacent. Nimeiry struck me as a sincere and dedicated patriot.

His minister of planning told me that the government intended to introduce measures to promote security for foreign investment. But if Nimeiry decides to slow down the nationalization program, as the recent sacking of three hard-line Leftist ministers suggests he may, he will still have to reckon with a strong reaction from the Communists.

No doubt it was in an effort to find a way out of this labyrinthine confusion that the Sudan agreed so readily to join the recently established tripartite

union with Egypt and Libya. Despite the differences which divide the Sudanese and Egyptian peoples, President Nasser's death was probably felt more acutely in Khartoum than in any other Arab capital outside Cairo. Over the last year of Nasser's life, the Sudan enjoyed something of a special relationship with Egypt.

At such a crucial moment, a marriage with the oil wealth of Libya and the relatively superior technical and political know-how of Egypt can hardly come amiss and, so long as it lasts, may provide a much needed blood transfusion for the Sudan.

ATLAS

February 1971

CPYRGHT

**IS NIMEIRY THE VILLAIN?**

Anthony Nutting's article on the Sudan contained several errors of fact. Firstly, the Southern Sudan rebels, known as the Anyanya, are not "separatists." They are fighting to create conditions whereby the civilian population can have a chance of democratic self-determination. Many of the freedom fighters would welcome the chance to achieve real (not mythical) autonomy for the South.

Secondly, the Anyanya have frequently offered to meet the Khartoum government at a peace conference to be held outside the Sudan. Nimeiry has refused. It is, therefore, inaccurate to draw a close parallel with Biafra.

Nutting's impression that the Khartoum government is making an all-out effort to achieve peace and progress is belied by the actions of their own army, the bombing of civilian villages, the burning of crops and the massacre of Christians at worship (all of which are amply documented). These acts of barbarity are rapidly alienating even further a large proportion of the Southern population and destroying hopes of eventual peace.

Surely the solution (if Khartoum is genuine in its peaceful intentions) is to withdraw the army from the garrisons in the South, to cease to train or employ Egyptians and Libyans and to get down to the conference table with Southern leaders. Failing this, the only recourse left open to Southerners is to strengthen their forces until their case is heard.

Letter from B.H.D. McDermot, chairman of the Southern Sudan Association in THE SUNDAY TIMES, London

Approved For Release 1999/09/02 : CIA-RDP79-01194A000300070001-6

*Sudan*

# A New Biafra in the Offing?

By Rahul Burman

CPYRGHT

THE Nasserite Sudanese leaders who have managed to survive the sixth coup attempted since their seizure of power 17 months ago, have accused the United States, Israel and West Germany of a plot to turn the south of their country into a new Biafra.

The three countries, of course, deny this. Of late, the secessionist movement has intensified. The flames are fanned by the new supplies of sophisticated military hardware to the rebel forces of the 'Any'a Nya' (the rebel named after the scorpion's poison) as much as by the action of the Khartoum regime which first declared a general amnesty on the southerners and then had many of those responding to it shot.

A traditional source of black slaves for the rich markets of Arabia, the south of Sudan has now become the largest single source of refugees after war-torn Portuguese Angola. Within a span of eight months more than 70,000 fugitives from the three vast southern provinces of Sudan have been resettled in Uganda, 51,000 in Burundi, 24,000 in the Congo and 14,000 in Tanzania. In addition, there are thought to be hundreds of thousands of unregistered refugees.

The war in the southern Sudanese provinces till recently tied down the bulk of the country's 30,000 strong, partially Soviet-equipped armed forces. The underdeveloped tropical region, with an area of 300,000 square miles, is largely populated by three to four million Christian and pagan blacks, who often fall prey to sweeping attacks of disease, famine and northern raiding parties. The rural areas, where more than 59 per cent of the native population lives, is well under the control of the secessionists while the urban areas are securely held by the government forces. However, with the gradual escalation of fighting the situation in these areas too is rapidly changing in favour of the rebels.

Until 1956, when it gained independence, the Sudan, the largest and culturally the most varied country in Africa, was ruled by an Anglo-Egyptian Condominium. Britain shared sovereignty over Sudan with Egypt. Now Sudan is ruled by a Revolutionary Council established by a group of young army officers after the May 1969 coup. Its closest allies are Libya and the UAR, with whom it forms

CPYRGHT

a new group in Arab Africa.

## Racial Conflict

Basically, Sudan comprises nearly 600 tribal groups. The 14 million people are all Islamic by faith and tradition save those in the south. Khartoum, the capital, for long derived its wealth from the Nile. But today, with an annual per capita income of £40 only, Sudan survives virtually on a single crop, cotton, and has limited foreign exchange resources. It is finding it hard to finance the war in the south.

The violence in the south is due to the same racial conflict which caused the civil wars in Chad, Ethiopia and Biafra. In Sudan it has been aggravated also by the grave inconsistencies in Britain's own policies prior to the country's independence.

To eradicate slave raiding as well as the economic and cultural exploitation of the black tribes by the northerners, the British cordoned off the southern region from the rest of the country, creating in effect a huge sanctuary shielding its inhabitants from development. Education was neglected and left completely in the hands of Christian missionaries.

After World War II Britain, confronted with increasing nationalism and pressure from the north, abruptly lifted the protective ban on south Sudan and called independence talks at which the black minority was absent. The Arabs demanded a completely centralised type of administration and ultimately secured it. After independence, Sudanisation led to the appointment of Arabs, rather than Africans, in the civil services even in the south. The south also faced a tremendous flow of traders and soldiers from the north.

A mutiny finally broke out in Equatoria and Buhr-el-Ghazal by the southern army men in 1956. Though it was quelled, open resistance to the northerners continued and gradually developed into an organised guerilla—the 'Any'a Nya'.

Political leaders who demanded a federal constitution were either imprisoned or forced to seek asylum in foreign countries. Simultaneously all missionaries were expelled. Large-scale civilian violence grew.

It is now clear that without the co-operation of the 'Any'a Nya', there can be no effective administration in the rural areas of the south. General Tafeng, a 60-year-old former officer of the Equatoria Corps who led the 1955 mutiny, is the rebel leader. The guerilla force was organised in 1963. Today, it equipped with modern automatic weapons and receives foreign military aid. Torit, Juba and Nimule are places where heavy fighting has been reported.

Significantly, it is the Nasserite Sudanese leaders who seek a federal-type set up under which the three southern provinces would get an autonomous status.

*Sudan*

## South comes first

FROM A CORRESPONDENT RECENTLY IN SUDAN

CPYRGHT

The Sudanese army has recently scored some successes in its apparently endless war against the southern separatist rebels, the Anyanya. These successes were due partly to a new supply of Russian weapons, in particular troop-carrying helicopters, and partly to the changed attitude of the former Ugandan government. One of the more publicised incidents was the handing over by the Ugandan authorities of Rolf Steiner, a German mercenary who had fought in the Congo and Biafra before he came to Sudan. He escaped into Uganda after his camp near the frontier was overrun two months ago; the Ugandans handed him back to the Sudanese.

These military operations are one part of a two-pronged attempt by the radical army officers and left-wing intellectuals who now run Sudan to find a solution to the southern problem. The other part is represented by the declaration of regional autonomy announced by President Numeiry after he seized power in May, 1969. This was not just a fine-sounding phrase; the government, particularly its marxist members, are looking for ways of implementing the liberal measures envisaged in the declaration.

The regime's concern with internal affairs far outstrips its interest in the still shadowy plans for inter-Arab unity. President Numeiry went to Cairo last month for the meeting of heads of state of the proposed Egyptian-Libyan-Sudanese-Syrian federation in order to show willing and to avoid giving the Libyans an excuse for saying the Sudanese were dragging their feet. But the Sudanese have made it perfectly plain that they, like the Egyptians, will not be party to any hasty, ill-prepared union which would only humiliate the Arabs by its inevitable failure.

The Libyans recently published in their army newspaper details of the discussions which led to the declaration of tripartite federation (Syria was a late, and not altogether welcome,

fourth); this provoked the Sudanese into publishing their version of the talks. The Sudanese report claims that the Libyans were proposing the immediate unification of the three countries' foreign ministries and political organisations (though Egypt, at present, is the only one of the three to have a political organisation) and the establishment of a fixed timetable for full constitutional unity. All this, the Sudanese argue, is impossible because of the wholly different circumstances of the three countries.

The ardent, puritanical Islamic Arab nationalists in Libya are impatient with Sudan's concern with its southern conflict and censorious of the continuing presence of marxists in the Sudanese government. But Sudan's leaders need the support of both right and left. Although the revolution of May 25, 1969, was carried out on a wave of popular enthusiasm for the idea that Sudan should shed its old ways and decisively join the "progressive" Arab camp, much of this enthusiasm has waned and the regime lacks a solid popular base.

So it is trying to win allies where it can. The recent release of 125 of the 160 men accused of being involved in the fighting at Aba Island last March (when the Imam Hadi al-Mahdi was killed) was aimed at disarming right-wing opposition. The Sudanese communist party is split but the weightier half, led by the attractive, if irrepressibly bourgeois, Abdul Khalik Mahjoub, is now opposed to the regime. Mr Mahjoub himself is in detention and two of his supporters were eased out of the government in November (the third minister dismissed at this time, Major Farouk Hamdallah, is not a communist). Marxists who remain in the government include the minister of labour, Muawiya Ibrahim, and the minister of industry and mining, Ahmed Sulaiman. Their presence does not satisfy Sudanese communists but they help to protect the regime from an all-out onslaught from the left.



# Norsk initiativ for Syd-Sudan i FN?

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Appell til Menneskerettighetskommisjonen  
og regjering om bidrag til å løse konflikten

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~~Forli fremtreden~~ ~~kvinner~~  
og menn har i en henvendelse  
til Regjeringen anmodet om at  
det tas et norsk initiativ med  
sikte på en løsning av situa-  
sjonen i Syd-Sudan.

I henvendelsen heter det bl. a.:

«Undertegnede ber Regjeringen  
om å medvirke til at konflikten i  
Sudan blir tatt opp til behandling i  
den sesjon FN's Menneskerettig-  
hetskommisjon skal ha i Genève  
den 22/2—26/3 1971 slik syd-suda-  
nesiske politikere ber om. Vi har  
tillatt oss å sende en henvendelse  
om saken direkte til Menneskeret-  
tighetskommisjonen og legger ved  
en kopi.

Vi mener at en behandling i  
kommisjonen sikkert vil kaste nytt  
lys over situasjonen og at det er et  
rimelig krav at representanter for  
Syd-Sudan får legge frem sin sak  
for verdensopinionen.»

I henvendelsen til Menneskeret-  
tighetskommisjonen heter det bl. a.:

«Til tross for motstridende in-  
formasjoner om forholdene, tyder  
meldinger på at sivilbefolkningen i  
Syd-Sudan er rammet av sult og  
sykdom og utsatt for overgrep fra  
de stridende parters side. Det er  
derfor grunn til å frykte for at sto-  
re deler av befolkningen ikke er  
sikret selv de mest elementære  
menneskerettigheter. Det er et  
sterkt behov for tiltak som kan gjø-  
re en snarlig slutt på de indre mot-  
setninger mellom Nord- og Syd-Su-  
dan.

Vi er kjent med den reformvilje  
den sudanske regjering har uttrykt.  
I pakt med denne må det være rik-  
tig at begge parter får anledning til  
å legge sin sak frem for verdens-  
opinionen. På denne bakgrunn vil  
undertegnede sterkt oppfordre  
Menneskerettighetskommisjonen til  
å ta det sudanske problem opp til  
undersøkelse og vurdering på sin  
sesjon i Genève den 22/2—26/3  
1971.»

Bak henvendelsen står en rekke  
personer fra det politiske og hu-  
manitære, kulturelle og kirkelige  
virkefelt, bl. a. syv stortingsrepre-  
sentanter, ni biskoper, Oslo-univer-  
sitets rektor m. fl.

AFTENPOTEN, Oslo  
February 16, 1971

## NORWEGIANS SUBMIT REQUEST FOR DISCUSSION SOUTH SUDAN PROBLEM IN UN

CPYRGHT

Appeal to Human Rights Commission and the government about contributing  
to the resolution of the conflict.

In a communication to the government, forty prominent women and men requested  
that it take up a Norwegian initiative aimed at a solution of the situation in South  
Sudan.

The communication says, among other things:

"The undersigned ask the government to cooperate in having the conflict in  
Sudan taken up for discussion in the session which the Human Rights Commission of  
the UN will hold in Geneva from 22 February to 26 March 1971 as the South Sudanese  
politicians request. We have taken the liberty to send a communication about the  
matter to the Human Rights Commission and enclose a copy of it.

"We believe that consideration in the commission certainly will throw new light on the situation and that it is a reasonable demand that the representatives for South Sudan should submit their case for world opinion."

The communication to the Human Rights Commission says, among other things:

"In spite of conflicting information about the conditions, reports indicate that the civilian population in South Sudan is stricken with hunger and sickness and exposed to attack from the disputing parties. Thus there is reason to fear that most of the population is not assured even the most elementary human rights. There is a great need for an effort which can put a speedier end to the internal conflicts between North and South Sudan.

"We are familiar with the desire for reform which the Sudanese government having reason to present their case for world opinion. On this background, the undersigned strongly wish to urge the Human Rights Commission to take up the Sudanese problem for study and evaluation in its session in Geneva from 22 February to 26 March 1971."

A number of persons from the political and humanitarian, cultural and church fields, among others, seven members of parliament, nine bishops, and a rector from the University of Oslo, are behind the communication.

MORGENBLADET, Oslo  
February 17, 1971

CPYRGHT

## SUDAN — EN PRØVE

EN GRUPPE nordmenn — med bl. a. 9 biskoper, 7 stortingsmenn, flere professorer og rektor ved Universitetet i Oslo, samt forretningsmenn, pressefolk og talsmenn for en rekke humanitære organisasjoner — har rettet en henvendelse til FN's Menneskerettighetskommisjon og anmodet om at konflikten i Syd-Sudan må bli drøftet i dette forum. Gruppen har også henvendt seg til Den norske regjering og bedt regjeringen støtte initiativet.

Tiltaket indikerer i sin ånd noe mer enn bare det sydsudanesiske spørsmål. Det innebærer i realiteten også en generell og økende misnøye med den behandling som de

internasjonale menneskerettigheter blir til del, nettopp i de organer som har påtatt seg å vokte over enkeltindividets integritet, sikkerhet og frihet.

Det har i flere år vokset frem en stigende grad av forbauselse og skuffelse over den eftergivende holdning som har preget regjeringene i de demokratiske land, når det gjelder aktivt å arbeide for slike saker i FN og lignende internasjonale sammenslutninger.

Man vil ikke lenger akseptere «det stille diplomati», som vokter seg vel for ikke å støte stormaktene på mansjettene i full offentlighet.

DET NORSKE initiativ overfor Menneskerettighetskommisjonen bærer bud om at opinionen nu forventer en mer aktiv og åpen holdning fra den demokratiske del av verden.

Sudan er den aktuelle prøvesten — men med et langt videre perspektiv.

NORWEGIANS URGE UN DISCUSSION OF SUDAN PROBLEM

CPYRGHT

A group of Norwegians including nine bishops, seven members of parliament, several professors and a rector of the University of Oslo, as well as business men, pressmen and spokesmen for a number of humanitarian organizations, have sent a communication to the Human Rights Commission of the UN and requested that the conflict in South Sudan be discussed in this forum. The group also has turned to the Norwegian government and requested that the government support the initiative.

The effort indicates something more in its spirit than only the South Sudanese question. In reality, it also signifies a general and increasing dissatisfaction with the treatment of which the international human rights is a part, precisely in the organs which have undertaken to watch over the single individual's integrity, security and freedom.

For several years, an increasing degree of amazement and disappointment has arisen over the accomodating attitude which has characterized the governments in the democratic countries when it is a question of actively working for such matters in the UN or similar international organizations.

The "quiet diplomacy" which is careful not to hurt the feelings of the big powers in full public is no longer accepted.

The Norwegian initiative to the Human Rights Commission carries the message that [world] opinion now expects a more active and open attitude from the democratic part of the world.

Sudan is the current acid test - but with a much wider perspective.

ARBEIDSBLADET, Oslo  
February 17, 1971

## *Sør-Sudan vanskelig å få frem i FN-fora*

CPYRGHT

Det vil by på praktiske problemer å få brakt opp situasjonen i Sør-Sudan i FNs menneskerettiskommisjon. Forutsetningen er nemlig at Sudan selv gir sitt samtykke til dette. Også i annen FN-sammenheng er det vanskelig å få offisiell behandling av saken.

Ekspedisjonssjef Tim Greve i utenriksdepartementet sier, på bakgrunn av brevet fra en rekke personer fra ulike virkefelt i Norge til Regjeringen om å ta et initiativ, at de norske myndigheter er fullt oppmerksom på lidelser folk i Sør-Sudan må gjennomgå, og er opptatt av dette.

Men spørsmålet er om man kan gjøre noe gjennom menneskerettighetskommisjonen hvor Norge for øvrig ikke er med. Kommisjonen har selv satt opp visse regler for behandlingen av klager. Skal den selv foreta undersøkelser

eller opprette en ad hoc-komité for å gjøre dette, kan det bare gjøres med samtykke av den staten saken gjelder. Forutsetningen er at undersøkelsen skal skje i nært og varig samarbeid med denne part og på de vilkår denne fastsetter. Dette gjør at de formelle muligheter for å arbeide via kommisjonen er sterkt begrenset. Og ennå er vi ikke kommet så langt at FNs menneskerettighetskonvensjon er bindende.

Men når dette er sagt, er det klart at en appell fra en bredt sammensatt gruppe vil ha en mo-

ralisk virkning. Den vil i høy grad henlede opinionens oppmerksomhet på problemet.

— Kan ikke saken tas opp på annen måte i FN?

— Situasjonen er den at denne saken er tatt opp underhånden. Men om Norge skulle ønske å bringe den inn for FN, vil man ikke få støtte fra de afrikanske land. Dermed er sjansen for at den skal komme opp liten.

Fra Sør-Sudan er det kommet en henvendelse om at FN må gripe inn, slik at organisasjonen er kjent med situasjonen.

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SUDAN SITUATION DIFFICULT TO PRESENT IN UN

It would present practical problems to have the situation in South Sudan brought up in the UN's Human Rights Commission. The assumption is that Sudan itself will give its approval for it. Also in another UN connection, it is difficult to get official handling of the matter.

Tim Greve, a department head in the Foreign Department, said, regarding the letter from a number of persons from different fields in Norway to the government about taking an initiative, that the Norwegian authorities are fully aware of the suffering that the people in South Sudan must experience and are preoccupied with it

"But the question is whether one can do anything through the Human Rights Commission in which Norway is not a member. The commission itself has set up certain rules for handling complaints. If it should undertake investigations itself or establish an ad hoc committee to do it, it can only be done with the approval of the state concerned with the matter. The assumption being that the investigation occurs in close and lasting cooperation with this state and under the conditions which it stipulates. This has the effect that technical possibilities to work through the commission are very limited. And yet we have not gone so far that the human rights convention of the UN is binding.

"But when this is said, it is clear that an appeal from a broadly made-up group will have a moral effect. It will draw a great deal of the attention of [world] opinion to the problem."

"Can the matter not be taken up in another way in the UN?"

"The situation is that this matter was taken up privately. But if Norway should desire to bring it before the UN, it will not get support from the African countries. So the chance that this shall occur is small.

"A communication came from South Sudan that the UN must intervene, so that the organization is familiar with the situation."

# FSF UTESTÄNGDE BEFRIELSEFRONT

CPYRGHT

## Sudans afrikaner tigs ihjäl

☐ Inga "olämpliga" befrielseörelser tillåts delta i den konferens om Afrikas befrielseörelse, som pågår i Dipoli i Otnäs. Mötets värd, Finlands Studentkårers Förbund (FSF) har vinkat med kalla handen åt Dominic A. Mohamed, representant för södra Sudans befrielsefront Anya Nya. Orsak: Den här befrielsefronten är "inte tillräckligt känd".

☐ FSF har dock haft c. 15 år på sig, att införskaffa information om utvecklingen i södra Sudan, där hundratusentals invånare dödsdömts under de senaste 15 åren.

☐ Enligt uppgifter från Förenta Nationernas flyktingkommisarie, uppgick antalet flyktingar till grannländerna från södra Sudan för två år sedan till 125 000.

— I dag är siffran c. 300 000, säger Dominic Mohamed.

☐ Han har varit i kontakt med FSF, för att få delta i konferensen i minstone som observatör. Han var villig att endast lyssna, inte tala.

☐ Men nej. FSF uppger på Hbl:s förfrågan, att konferensen inte kunde utvidgas till att omfatta också problem i Sudan.

☐ Detta trots att man vid förhandsinformationen före konferensen uttryckligen påpekade att "Afrikas befrielseörelse" skall tolkas som en enda helhet, att det inte är fråga om de enskilda befrielsefronterna, utan en samordnad kamp mot kolonialism, imperialism, rasism och förtryck överhuvudtaget.

☐ På tisdagen kröp det dock fram att befrielseörelserna skall vara godkända av den afrikans-

ka enhetsorganisationen OAU, för att vara salongsfärdiga på Dipoli.

☐ FSF:s dörrvakter ser till att obehöriga inte tar sig in i möteslokalen, berättar utrikessekreterare Martti Laajava vid FSF för Hbl.

Man vill inte höra Dominic Mohamed berätta om hur 1 miljon människor, afrikaner, i södra Sudan har dödsdömts av regerings- trupperna, araber.

(Uppgifterna om antalet döda är oklart, andra källor hävdar att det rör sig om c. 100 000 några hundra tusen etc. Klart är i alla fall att förlusterna i människoliv är enorma.)

FSF-konferensen vill inte heller höra talas om de hundratusentals flyktingar, som lever under obесkrivliga förhållanden i Sudans grannländer.

— Vi hjälper ju dem också, säger viceordf. Martti Mellais, FSF. Vår organisation står ju bl.a. bakom Finlands Flyktinghjälp rf.

På FSF-mötet ges ingen information om uppgifterna, som hävdar att 25 000 soldater från Libyen och Egypten hjälper Sudana militärregering i strävande- na att "arabisera" södra Sudan.

Konferensdeltagarna skulle bland annat ha haft möjlighet att titta på bilder, som visar hur napalmbomber, som enligt hr Mohamed tagits i bruk under de senaste fyra månaderna, har varit fram med civilbefolkningen.

Men eftersom man "saknade

information" om befrielseörelsen Anya Nya, så hade bilderna ingen plats i debatten om den afrikanska befrielseörelsen i stort.

Detta trots att också den andra sidan hade haft utmärkte möjligheter att ge sin syn på saken. FSF:s medarrangör, International Union of Students (IUS med högkvarter i Prag) ordförande är nämligen hemma- börande i norra Sudan!

Viceordf. Martti Mellais berättar att FSF varit i kontakt med denne, och att man efter den diskussionen definitivt beslutat att Anya Nya inte får delta i mötet.

FSF anser som sagt att man inte har tillräckliga informationer om organisationen. För tre månader sedan tillställdes dock FSF en promemoria om rörelsen, dess syften, aktiviteter, problem, önskemål m.m.

Anya Nya har också berörts i flera brett upplagda artiklar i världspressen, och också i den finländska pressen. "Folkmord i tysthet", "Ett nytt Biafra", "Den bortglömda tragedin i Sudan" har man kallat afrikanernas kamp mot de härskande araber- na.

FSF säger: — Vi kan inte på något sätt notera Anya Nya, det kunde sära någon annan.

Hbl: Vem?

FSF: — Någon som anser att södra Sudans befrielsefront inte har någonting att göra bland de andra befrielsefronterna på detta möte.

Det är värt att notera att konferenstemat i och med detta uttalande har ändrats. Det är allt.

sa från att vilja ha av det godkända befrielserörelser" (i Sydafrika, Rhodesia, Namibia, Moqambique, Angola och Guinea Bissau).

Inte om "Afrikas befrielse".

Dominic Mohamed är en av de få från södra Sudan, som lyckats skaffa sig utbildning. Han studerar för närvarande vid Minnesotauniversitetet i USA.

Han berättar för Hbl att befrielserörelsen kämpar för religionsfrihet och för afrikanernas ekonomiska och kulturella oberoende.

För invånarna i södra Sudan framstår araberna som kolonialister, som med vald försöker omvända afrikanerna till islam (den förhärskande religionen bland afrikanerna är kristendomen, men många naturreligioner har också anhängare).

Araberna utarmar afrikanerna, genom att inte ge dem möjligheter att utveckla sitt land, säger Dominic Mohamed.

Södra Sudan har av en FN-expert betecknats som ett mycket rikt land. Felet är bara det

har exploaterats, en stor del av befolkningen lever kvar i stenalder.

I dag lever afrikanerna i Sudan undandömda i bushen, på flykt undan regeringstruppernas soldater.

Regeringschefens, generalmajor Jaafar al-Nimeiri, erbjudanden om partiell autonomi vagar man inte lita på. Inte efter de massakrer som föränsats mot afrikaner, och inte sedan man under de senaste åren sett sina skolor och sjukhus bombas till ruinhögar.

Och alldeles speciellt inte sedan ryskbyggda Migplan och helikoptrar började kretsa över södra Sudan, samtidigt som egyptiska och libyska trupper på regeringens begäran kom till landet.

Misstron mot araberna har sina rötter ända in i slaveriets tidsålder, då araberna via Saudi-arabien och Egypten sökte slavar i Sudan.

— Därför kämpar Anya Nya för självbestämmanderätt för afrikanerna i södra Sudan, säger

Det han önskar är att världsoptionen får upp ögonen för det som utspelas där.

— Men araberna har tummen i ögat på så många stater, att FN:s generalförsamling inte fatt upp var situation till debatt.

Också Dipolikonferensen styrs av krafter som vill att var folk kamp skall tigas ihjäl, ankarar Dominic Mohamed.

Han understryker också att Anya Nyas mål är att få problemet löst på fredlig väg. Därför vill man väcka debatt, och inte till exempel begära militär hjälp från andra stater.

— Anya Nya vill inte att utomstående länder blandar sig i konflikten, men vi vill ha världsoptionen till hjälp för att kunna leva i enlighet med Förenta nationernas deklaration om de mänskliga rättigheterna.

Christian Sjöstedt

HUFVUDSTADSBLADET, Helsinki  
February 17, 1971

CPYRGHT

# ANYA NYA EXCLUDED FROM HELSINKI CONFERENCE ON AFRICA

No "unsuitable" liberation movements are permitted to participate in the conference on Africa's liberation movement which is going on in Dipoli in Otaniemi. The sponsor of the meeting (FSF) /SYL, in Finnish/, the Finnish National Union of Students has waved a cold hand at Dominic A. Mohamed, the delegate of Anya Nya, South Sudan's liberation front. The reason: This liberation front is "not sufficiently [well] known".

However, SYL has had about 15 years in which to acquire information about the development in South Sudan, where hundreds of thousands inhabitants were slain during the past 15 years.

According to information from the United Nations Refugee Commissioner, the number of refugees to the neighboring countries from South Sudan two years ago amounted to 125,000.

"Today the figure is about 300,000," said Dominic Mohamed.

He has been in contact with SYL in order to be permitted to participate in the conference, at least as an observer. He was willing to only listen, not speak.

But no. The SYL replied to Hufvudstadsbladet's (Hbl) inquiry that the conference could not be expanded to also include problems in Sudan.

This despite the fact that the advance information prior to the conference explicitly pointed out that "Africa's liberation movement" should be interpreted as one single entirety, that it is not a question of the individual liberation fronts but a coordinated struggle against colonialism, imperialism, racism and

On Tuesday, however, it emerged that the liberation movements should be approved by OAU, the Organization of African Unity, in order to be acceptable at Dipoli.

"The SYL doorkeeper sees to it that unauthorized persons shall not be admitted into the meeting halls," related foreign secretary Martti Laajava of SYL to Hbl.

They do not wish to hear Dominic Mohamed tell about how one million people, Africans, in South Sudan have been slain by the government troops, Arabs.

(Information about the number of slain is not clear. Other sources maintain that it is about 100,000, some that it is hundreds of thousands etc. In any case, it is clear that the loss in human lives is enormous.)

Nor does the SYL conference wish to be told about the hundreds of thousands of refugees who live under indescribable conditions in Sudan's neighboring countries.

"We, of course, help them also," said Martti Mellais, deputy chairman of SYL. "Our organization stands behind Finland's Refugee Aid, among others."

No information was given at the SYL meeting about the information which claims that 25,000 soldiers from Libya and Egypt aid the Sudanese military government in efforts to "Arabize" South Sudan.

Among other things, the conference delegates should have had possibilities to look at pictures which show how napalm bombs, which according to Mr. Mohamed were used during the past four months, have ravaged the civilian population.

But since they "lacked information" about the liberation movement, Anya Nya, then pictures have no particular place in the debate about the African liberation movement.

This despite the fact that the other side had excellent possibilities to give its view on the matter. The chairman of SYL's co-sponsor, the International Union of Students (IUS with headquarters in Prague) is living in northern Sudan!

Deputy chairman Martti Mellais related that SYL was in contact with the chairman and that after the discussion they definitely decided that Anya Nya should not participate in the meeting.

As stated, SYL thinks that they do not have sufficient information about the organization. Three months ago SYL however was sent a memorandum about the movement, its aims, activities, problems, desires etc.

Anya Nya also has been dealt with in several broadly placed articles in the world press and also in the Finnish press. The struggle of the Africans against the ruling Arabs has been called "Genocide in Silence," "A New Biafra," "The Forgotten Tragedy in the Sudan."

SYL said, "We cannot in any way register Anya Nya; it could hurt someone else."

Hbl: "Whom?"

SYL: "Someone who thinks that South Sudan's liberation front does not have anything to do with the other liberation fronts at this meeting."

It is worth noting that the theme of the conference has been changed by the fact of this statement. There consequently is a question about "Africa and the

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six liberation struggles (in South Africa, Rhodesia, Namibia, Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau).

Not about "Africa's liberation".

Dominic Mohamed is one of the few from South Sudan who has succeeded in acquiring an education. At the present time, he is studying at the University of Minnesota in the U.S.

He related for Hbl that the liberation movement struggles for religious freedom and for the economic and cultural independence of the Africans.

For the inhabitants in South Sudan, the Arabs appear as colonialists who forcibly increase by converting the Africans to Islam (the predominant religion among the Africans is Christianity, but many nature religions also have supporters.)

"The Arabs pauperize the Africans by not giving them possibilities to develop their country," said Dominic Mohamed.

South Sudan has been characterized by one of the UN experts as a very rich country. The fault is only that none of the wealth has been exploited; a large part of the population still lives in the stone age.

Today, the Africans in Sudan live secluded in the bush as fugitives from the government troops.

The offers of the government chief, Major General Jeafar al-Nimeiri, about partial autonomy are not depended on. Not after the massacres which were arranged against the Africans and not since they had their schools and hospitals bombed to heaps of ruins in recent years.

And especially not since the Russian-built MIG planes and helicopters began to circle above South Sudan at the same time that the Egyptian and Libyan troops came into the country at the request of the government.

The distrust against the Arabs has its roots down to the age of slavery when the Arabs sought slaves in Sudan via Saudi Arabia and Egypt.

"Therefore Anya Nya struggles for the right of self determination for the Africans in South Sudan," said Dominic Mohamed.

He wishes that world opinion will open up its eyes to what is taking place there.

"But the Arabs keep a careful check on so many states that the General Assembly in the UN has not opened up our situation for the debate. Also the Dipoli conference is controlled by forces which wish that our people's struggle shall be silenced to death," charged Dominic Mohamed.

He also emphasized that Anya Nya's goal is to resolve the problem in a peaceful way. Thus they wish to rouse debate and not, for example, request military aid from other states.

"Anya Nya does not wish that outside countries intervene in the conflict, but we wish to have the world opinion to help so that we can live in accordance with the United Nations' declaration on Human rights."



CPYRGHT

# Erimielisyyttä sissikonferenssin osanottajista

Mohamed kertoi esittäneensä Suomen ylioppilaskuntien liitolle vastalauseen siitä, että hänen ei sallittu osallistua konferenssiin.

## "Separatismi"

"Konferenssimme on suljettu sissikonferenssi", sanoi puolestaan SYL:n puheenjohtaja Seppo Härkönen.

Etelä-Sudanin vapautusrintaman parhaillaan Suomessa vieraileva edustaja on narkästynyt siitä, että hänen ei ole sallittu osallistua Otaniemen Dipolissa käynnissä olevaan "Opiskelijat ja Afrikan vapautusliike" konferenssiin.

Konferenssin toinen järjestäjä Suomen ylioppilaskuntien liitto vastaa tähän, että kyseisen henkilön järjestö ei ole Afrikan yhteisyyssjärjestön tunnustama kolonialismia tai rasismia vastaan taisteleva järjestö, joille konferenssi on tarkoitettu.

"Konferenssissa osanottajina olevat arabit pelkäävät, että Sudanin armeijan maan eteläosan neekeriväestöön kohdistamat julmuudet paljastuvat, jos minä pääsen sinne puhumaan", sanoi Etelä-Sudanin vapautusrintaman edustaja Dominic A. Mohamed tiistaina Helsingissä pitämällään lehdistövästäänottolla.

"Etelä-Sudanin nelimiljoonainen neekeriväestö on jatkuvasti maan pohjoisosan muhamettilaisten arabien poliittisen ylivoimaa alaisena, yhteiskunnallisen, rodullisen ja uskonnollisen vainon sekä taloudellisen riiston kohteena", hän sanoi. "Viime aikoina tämä on muuttunut systemaattiseksi kansanmurhaksi. Vuoden 1962 jälkeen armeija on surmannut lähes miljoona eteläsudaneilaista. Armeija saa sotilaallista apua muilta arabimailta, erityisesti Egyptiltä ja Libyalta. Se käyttää neuvostoliittolaisia MiGejä, napalmia, sotilasasiantuntijoita ja lentäjiä."

Vapautusliikettä ovat kaikki Afrikan yhtenäisyysjärjestön OAU:n tunnustamia ja ne taistelevat kolonialismia ja rasismia vastaan. Useilla näillä liikkeillä on myös erityinen neuvotteluasema YK:ssa."

"Sen sijaan Etelä-Sudanin vapautusrintama on tyypillinen separatistinen liike, joka toimii jo itsestästään erä maassa. Sen edustajan osallistuminen ei olisi sopinut konferenssin yleiskuvaan, eivätkä muutkaan vastaavat liikkeet ole siihen edustettavana", Härkönen sanoi.

"Konferenssin osanottajalista oli laadittu etukäteen. Etelä-Sudanin vapautusrintaman edustaja on opiskellut Yhdysvalloissa ja saapunut sieltä juuri tänne. Tarkkailijaksi häntä ei voitu ottaa sen vuoksi, että konferenssi on tarkoitettu vain ylioppilaskunnille ja muille kansainvälisille järjestöille."

HELSINGEN SANOMAT, Oslo  
February 17, 1971

## DISAGREEMENT EXPRESSED WITH GUERRILLA CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

CPYRGHT

The South Sudanese freedom front representative visiting in Finland is indignant that he has not been allowed to participate in the students' and African Freedom Movement Conference. The Conference's second organizer, the Union of Finnish Students (SYL), answers that the representative's organization is not an African organization recognized as fighting against colonialism or racism.

The South Sudanese freedom front representative Dominic A. Mohamed said Tuesday 16 February, in a press conference held in Helsinki, "the conference's participating Arabs fear that the Sudan army's cruelty directed against the Southern negro population will be revealed if I am allowed to speak."

"South Sudan's 4-million-negro population has continually been subject to the political rule of the Northern Mohammedan Arabs' social, racial and religious persecution and even economic exploitation. Lately this has moved into systematic genocide. Since 1962 the army has killed nearly one million South Sudanese. The army receives military aid from other Arab countries, especially Egypt, and Libya, and uses Soviet MIGs, napalm, military experts and pilots."

Mohamed said that he had protested to the SYL that he had not been permitted to participate in the conference.

"Separatism"

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SYL chairman Seppo Harkonen said, "our conference is a closed work conference. Six freedom movements are participating in it, and they are recognized by the OAU, and are fighting against colonialism and racism. Several of the movements also have special consultant status with the U.N.

"On the other hand the South Sudan freedom movement is a typical separatist movement, which acts in an already independent country. Its representative's participation would not be in keeping with the general nature of the conference, nor are similar movements represented in this conference.

The list of conference participants was drawn up beforehand. The South Sudan freedom front representative has studied in the U.S. and has just arrived from there. He could not be accorded observer status either because the conference is intended only for student unions and certain international organizations."....

LE MONDE WEEKLY, Paris  
February 17, 1971

## SUDAN

# *Open war on the Communists*

CPYRGHT

The speech made on February 12 over Omdurman Radio by Major General Gaafar An-Nemeiry, Sudanese prime minister and chairman of the Revolutionary Council, constitutes a virtual declaration of war against the country's Communist Party.

"These traitors," he said, referring to the Communists, "have been opposing the revolution of May 25, 1969, since its very inception, and have been obstructing its progress," thus putting an end to the alliance concluded between the two main political forces of the country after the 1969 coup.

In fact, the rift between the regime's military elements and their allies on the extreme Left took place last November, when the Revolutionary Council ousted three of its members known to be sympathetic to the Communists, retired thirteen left-wing officers and ordered the arrest of the Communist Party's Secretary General Abdel Khaliq Mahgoub.

### Basic causes

These moves, coming as they did only a week after the signing in Cairo of the agreement to create a federation of Egypt,

Libya and Sudan, left no room for doubt as to the immediate causes of the rift. Besides, the Communists had never hidden their opposition to any Arab union or federation, on the grounds that it was premature.

The opposition of the Sudanese Communists to the idea of a three-nation federation probably sealed their fate. From the very outset there have been basic differences of opinion over the scope and substance of the organization destined to become the country's fundamental political framework. The Communists saw it as a front grouping all the country's progressive forces, in which they and the mass organizations under their control could operate independently.

General Nemeiry and his friends, however, had a marked preference for a single party, as in Egypt, incorporating the Communist Party and the trade unions.

In October 1969 the controversy over the subject became less academic, and General Nemeiry's supporters won their first victory when they ousted former Prime Minister Babikr Awadallah, considered too soft on the extreme leftists. General Nemeiry strengthened his hold on the

government by combining the functions of revolutionary council chairman and prime minister. However, the various plots hatched by the Right (the general claimed in December 1969 that in six months there had been ten attempts to overthrow his regime) delayed the showdown between the military faction and the Communists.

### Old quarrel

These two forces were to join hands once more in March 1970, to put down the rebellion led by the imam el Hadi Abdel Rahman el Mahdi, spiritual leader of some 6 million Ansars, who was killed on April 1 while trying to flee across the border into Ethiopia. Once the right-wing Moslem threat had been taken care of, the old quarrel flared up again. Four days later the Sudanese government put the dead imam's nephew, Sadia el Mahdi, and Mr. Mahgoub on a plane bound for Cairo.

The expulsion of the Communist leader was obviously designed to rid the government and the party's moderate wing of a very dangerous adversary. But the job was botched, and only

served to intensify Communist opposition to the government. Mr. Mahgoub's views—he himself was allowed to return to Khartoum in July 1970—dominated the party's national conference held in August. A minority of moderates refused to accept the conference resolutions and broke with the party.

Since then their influence has waned considerably, and it is significant that in his speech last Friday General Nemeiry did not even bother to make a distinction between "moderate" and "extreme" Communists when he announced his intention to destroy "the so-called Communist Party," adding that "there is no justification for the existence of the Sudanese Communist Party."

The general has a tough job on his hands. The Sudanese party is the most powerful Communist movement in the Arab world. It is well organized, accustomed to repression of all kinds, and enjoys wide support at the grass-roots level, among the working classes and the peasantry.

JEAN GUEYRAS

February 22, 1971

Approved For Release 1999/09/02 : CIA-RDP79-01194A000300070001-6

CPYRGHT

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DAILY NATION, Nairobi

February 24, 1971

## RUSSIANS REPORTEDLY FIGHT SUDAN BLACKS

NEW YORK (AP) — For the first time, Soviet advisers are fighting black Africans and helping the Arab government of Sudan bomb black villages, *Time* magazine reported Sunday.

In its March 1 issue, the magazine said about 100 Russians had participated since September in ground operations in three southern provinces. It said that, besides another 400 Soviet advisers, 50 East Germans are also advising Sudan's Interior Ministry in Khartoum.

The 6 million blacks in the south demand autonomy in a federation, claiming they will never receive real authority from the 3 million Arabs in the north,

who seized 796 of the available 800 government posts when the country gained independence in 1956, the magazine said.

The southern insurgents are receiving arms and supplies from Israel and sanctuary from Ethiopia, *Time* said.

EAST AFRICAN STANDARD, Nairobi  
February 23, 1971

CPYRGHT

## RUSSIA 'BUILDING BASE IN SUDAN'

The Soviet Union is actively helping the Sudanese Government to crush the years-long revolt by the Black tribes of Southern Sudan and is building a naval base plus missile sites on Sudan's Red Sea coast,

*Time* magazine says in its latest issue.

According to *Time*, there are at present 500 Soviet advisers in Sudan and 325 in Somalia, Sudan's southern neighbour.

It says that since last September 100 of the advisers took part in ground operations in all three South Sudanese provinces.

Last month they accompanied Sudanese troops in a raid on the main guerilla camp at Owingi-Kibul, attacking while many of the guerillas were bathing in a river.

A bombing raid on a rebel base at Morta, near the Ugandan border, caused nearly 1,000 casualties, *Time* adds.

The magazine says that the naval base the Soviet Union began to build last year at Port Sudan, on the Red Sea, will be useful, when the Suez Canal is finally reopened, in the present build-up of Soviet naval activity in the Indian Ocean.

The Soviet Union is installing SA-3 anti-aircraft missiles to defend the base, *Time* says.

A.F.P.

NEW YORK TIMES

February 22, 1971

## SOVIET SAID TO HELP SUDAN FIGHT BLACKS

CPYRGHT

*Time* magazine says that Soviet advisers are helping the Arab Government of Sudan fight black insurgents.

In its March 1 issue, which goes on sale today, said that about 100 Russians had participated since September in ground operations in three southern provinces. It said that 400 more Soviet advisers and 50 East Germans were also advising Sudan's Interior Ministry in Khartoum.

The magazine said that Russians had "almost certainly" flown helicopters into combat against the blacks, and might have joined Egyptian pilots on bombing missions. The Russians are also training pilots to

fly Soviet MiG jets, *Time* said.

The six million blacks in the south demand autonomy in a federation, asserting that they will never receive real authority from the three million Arabs in the north, who seized 796 of the 800 available government posts when the country gained independence in 1956, the magazine said. There are also three million black Africans in the north.

The southern insurgents are receiving arms and supplies from Israel and sanctuary from Ethiopia, *Time* said.

## Russians 'fighting Blacks in Sudan'

CPYRGHT

NEW YORK, Tuesday

THE Arab Government of Sudan is being helped directly by about 100 Soviet advisers to prosecute its civil war against six million Black southerners, *Time* magazine says.

The weekly news magazine said it is the first time the Soviet Union has participated actively in a Third World counter-insurgent effort and has fought against Black Africans and helped bomb their villages.

Since last September, *Time* said the Russians have engaged in ground operations in all three Southern provinces. "Last month they accompanied Sudanese Army units in a raid on the main guerilla camp, Owingi-Kibul, attacking the Southerners by surprise while many were bathing in a river. . . . A bombing raid against a rebel base at Morta near the Uganda border caused nearly 1,000 civilian casualties."

The magazine said Russians have almost certainly flown helicopters into combat against Southern rebels. They, as well as Egyptian pilots, may also have conducted bombing missions with AN-12 transports and two squadrons of TU-16 medium bombers.

The Russians, in addition, are known to have carried out MiG training missions in the North, but whether they have flown MiGs into combat in the South is uncertain.

The Southerners, *Time* said, have received some modest foreign support of their own. Israel has been parachuting arms and supplies from an unmarked DC-3 to Owingi-Kibul. The DC-3 apparently flies in from either South-Western Ethiopia or Northern Uganda. Israel provides extensive aid to both countries.

— AP

# SYD-SUDANESISK FRIGJØRINGSLEDER I OSLO: „Også USA boikotter oss”

Hverken Sovjet eller USA ønsker et fritt Syd-Sudan, eller at konflikten i Syd-Sudan skal drøftes i FN eller i OAU. Sovjet har satset klart på den arabiske verden — og USA er redd for å sette sine olje-interesser i ytterligere fare. Derfor blir vi direkte boikottet av amerikanske myndigheter, og aktivt motarbeidet av de sovjetiske. Israel ville kanskje hjelpe oss, men hindres i dette av USA.

Av GUNNAR MOE

Det er den internasjonale president for Union of Southern Sudanese Students, Dominic A. Mohamed, som uttaler dette til Morgenbladet under en snarvisitt til Oslo sist lørdag.

Mohamed, som har tatt sin embedseksamen ved University of Minnesota, etterat han forlot Khartoum Technical Institute i desember 1965, er også oppnevnt som den syd-sudanesiske frigjøringsfronts offisielle representant til USA. Han vler seg nu helt til Syd-Sudans kamp for uavhengighet og rettferdighet, og håper at det i nær fremtid skal bli mulig å få en fast «ekskl-ambassade» også i Skandinavia.

## FORUNDRET

— Jeg er gjort kjent med den norske regjeringens syn på konflikten i Syd-Sudan, og den norske utenriksministers erklæringer om at situasjonen i Syd-Sudan har bedret seg, forundrer meg meget, sier Dominic Mohamed. — Faktum er at det siden november ifjor har funnet sted en betydelig opptrapping i kamphandlingene, og det er oppstått en skjerpet politisk situasjon. Som en følge av dette har også flyktningestrømmen tiltatt.

— Hvordan vet De dette?

— Vi har et vidtgrenet etterretningsnett over hele Sudan; og i de omkringliggende land er det internasjonale journalister som kan bekrefte disse meldinger. Vi vet at det i dag står 25 000 arabiske soldater — både fra Sudan, Egypt, Nigeria og Algerie — i de større byer i Syd-Sudan, og her-til kommer ca. 3000 sovjetiske rådgivere og militære instruktø-

rer. De fleste av Khartoum-regjeringens allierte styrker har sin base i Juba, distriktshovedstaden i Equatoria, hevder Mohamed, som også har fått rapporter om at Egypt har flyttet det meste av sine langdistanse-raketter og endel av sitt flyvåpen til Syd-Sudan, der det er mindre sårbart for eventuelle israelske luftangrep — men uten å være satt ut av beredskap.

## LITEN USA-STØTTE

— Hvorfor finner De så lite støtte i USA for Syd-Sudans sak?

— Etter min mening fordi USA ikke kan se noen økonomiske interesser i vårt område. Vi har ingen rike oljekilder, urangruver eller mineraler. På grunn av den spente situasjon i Midt-Østen ønsker dessuten amerikanerne å unngå å tirre araberne — de vet at Syd-Sudan er spørsmål der araberne ser sine felles og vitale interesser truet.

— Er der ingen i USA som kan støtte dere?

— Jeg har drøftet saken også med opposisjonen, bl. a. med Hubert Humphrey, men de ser alle likeledes på spørsmålet. Vi har også sett, at amerikanske journalister som har vært inne i Syd-Sudan og som har skrevet om dette i amerikanske aviser, har fått alvorlige reprimander av sine egne myndigheter. Vi vil nu arbeide for å skaffe oss mer publicity og appellere direkte til det amerikanske folk, sier Mohamed, som forøvrig har lite pent å si om moralen i amerikansk utenrikspolitikk. — Ser de ikke business i en sak, så har den ingen interesse, er hans erfaringer etter 5 års studier og opphold i landet.

## KONSOLIDERING

— Hva er frigjøringsfrontens viktigste oppgaver i tiden fremover?

— For tiden er det å konsolidere vår politiske enhet og militære styrke. Vi håper på, og arbeider for, en fredelig løsning av konflikten. Vi har bedt FN oppnevne en granskningskommisjon, samt å gjennomføre en folkeavstemning i Syd-Sudan. Men hvis ikke dette kan oppnås, må vi eventuelt satse på militær motstand, og gå til anskaffelse av mer våpen. Vi har nu kun ca. 5000 mann, som er dårlig utstyrt på alle måter. Araberne forsøker å massakre oss og tvinge oss i kne, ved hjelp av de mest moderne våpen fra Sovjet.

— Jeg er selv en av de mer moderate i the Liberation Front, sier Mohamed — til tross for at jeg har mistet 79 av mine slektninger i arabiske terror-angrep i Syd-Sudan.

— Vi ønsker å skape et fritt og demokratisk styre i Syd-Sudan. Vårt ideal er den form for «afrikansk sosialisme» som praktiseres i bl.a. Kenya. Vi vil lojalt følge FN's anvisninger for en politisk løsning, og vi ber nu alle land om å legge press på den arabiske verden for å oppnå en slik løsning, uttaler Dominic A. Mohamed.

SUPPORT FOR AND TASKS FACING SOUTH SUDAN'S LIBERATION FRONT

CPYRGHT

"Neither the USSR or US desires to liberate South Sudan, nor will the conflict in South Sudan be discussed in the Un or OAU [Organization of African Unity]. The USSR has clearly gambled on the Arab world --and the US is afraid to place its oil interests in further danger. Thus we will be directly boycotted by the American authorities, and actively opposed by the Soviets. Israel perhaps would help us but is prevented from doing so by the US."

Dominic A. Mohamed the international president of the Union of Southern Sudanese Students, stated this to Morgenbladet during a brief visit to Oslo last Saturday.

Mohamed, who received his degree from the University of Minnesota after he left Khartoum Technical Institute in December 1965, was also appointed as the official representative of the South Sudanese Liberation Front. He now devotes himself entirely to South Sudan's struggle for independence and justice and hopes that in the near future it will be possible to obtain a permanent "exile embassy" also in Scandinavia.

SURPRISED

"I have become familiar with the Norwegian government's view on the conflict in South Sudan and the Norwegian Foreign Minister's statement greatly surprises me that the situation in South Sudan has improved," said Dominic A. Mohamed.

"The fact is that since last November, a significant escalation has taken place in the struggle activities and an intensified political situation has arisen. As a result of this, the flow of refugees has increased."

"How do you know this?"

"We have an extensive intelligence net over the entire Sudan; and in the surrounding countries the international journalists can confirm these reports. We know that today there are 25,000 Arab soldiers -- from the Sudan, Egypt, Nigeria and Algeria -- in the larger towns in South Sudan and in addition there are about 3,000 Soviet advisers and military instructors. Most of the Khartoum government's allied forces have their base in Juba, the district capital city of Equatoria," said Mohamed, who also had obtained reports about Egypt having moved most of its long range rockets and some of its aircraft to South Sudan, where they are less vulnerable to Israeli air attacks, but without being put out of preparedness.

LITTLE US SUPPORT

"Why is there so little support in the US for the cause of South Sudan?"

"In my opinion because the US cannot see any economic interests in our area. We have no rich oil sources, uranium mines or minerals. Due to the tense situation in the Middle East, the Americans besides desire to avoid provoking the Arabs -- they know that South Sudan is a question in which the Arabs see their common and vital interests threatened."

"Is there no one in the US who can support you?"

"I have discussed the matter also with the opposition, among others, with Hubert Humphrey, but they all see the question the same way. We have also seen that the American journalists who have been in South Sudan and who have written about it in American newspapers have received serious reprimands from their own authorities. We now wish to work for gaining more publicity for ourselves and appeal directly to the American people," said Mohamed, who besides has little good to say about the morality of American foreign policies. If they do not see business in a case, they then have no interest in it, is his experience after five years of study and stay in the country.

#### CONSOLIDATION

"What are the most important tasks of the Liberation Front in the future?"

"At the present time, it is to consolidate our political unity and military strength. We hope and work for a peaceful solution of the conflict. We have asked the UN to appoint an investigation commission and to carry out a plebiscite in South Sudan. But if this cannot be attained, we must eventually rely on military resistance and begin to procure more arms. We now have only about 5,000 men who are poorly equipped in all respects. The Arabs attempt to massacre us and force us to out knees with the aid of the most modern weapons from the USSR.

"I myself am one of the more moderate ones in the Liberation Front," said Mohamed, "despite the fact that I have lost 79 of my relatives in Arab terror attacks in South Sudan."

"We desire to develop a free and democratic government in South Sudan. Our ideal is the form of "African Socialism" which is practiced in, among others, Kenya. We will loyally follow the instructions of the UN for a political solution, and we now ask all countries about putting pressure on the Arab world in order to reach such a solution," stated Dominic A. Mohamed.

REUTER, Kampala, Uganda

February 23, 1971

CPYRGHT

~~Uganda's military head of state, Maj. Gen. Idi Amin, said here today Uganda would not leave the Commonwealth because of Britain's decision to sell WASP helicopters to South Africa. Former President Milton Obote, ousted by Amin on Jan. 25, had said Uganda would leave the Commonwealth if Britain sold arms to South Africa.~~

Amin, answering questions at a news conference about the British decision, said "First of all, the Uganda Government under my leadership will not quit the Commonwealth. Secondly, I am to study the decisions taken by Obote and other Commonwealth leaders in Singapore (at the Commonwealth conference last month) and then comment about it. Everybody is talking of South Africa, but we have another South Africa in Southern Sudan, where Catholics and Protestants are not allowed to go to church."

Amin said that when worshippers went to church in Southern Sudan, people with machineguns killed them and burned their houses. "This must be solved first before arms to South Africa," Amin said.

# Bøn om hjælp til én mill. flygtninge

CPYRGHT

*Araberne begår folkedrab, hævder afrikansk sudanesiske*

Araberne er i gang med et folkedrab på den afrikanske befolkning i Sydsudan. Mellem en halv og en hel million afrikanere er blevet dræbt, en million er flygtninge, og resten af den afrikanske befolkning i landet lever reelt som flygtninge!

Det er baggrunden for, at dr. Dominic A. Mohamed, repræsentant for den sydsudanesiske befrielsesfront, Anya Nya, i det sidste par dage har besøgt de skandinaviske lande for at bede om hjælp til flygtningene. I København havde han bl. a. samtaler med Dansk Flygtningehjælp og Folkekirkens Nødhjælp om mulig bistand til de mange, der nu opholder sig i nabolandene, Æthiopien, Kenya, Uganda, Congo, Den centralafrikanske Republik og Tchad.

Desuden er formålet med hans rejse at gøre opmærksom på problemet i Sudan, således at der fra regerings-side kan lægges pres på araberne til at standse krigen, at få gennemført en FN-undersøgelse af forholdene i landet og at opfordre Røde Kors til at sende medicin og fødevarer både ind i Sydsudan og til flygtningene i nabolandene.

## Kunstig stat

— Ingen lægger mærke til, hvad der foregår i Sydsudan, eller også foretrækker de at kikke til den anden side, sagde dr. Mohamed under sit besøg i København til Politiken.

Sudan er en kunstig stat, skabt af englænderne, og bestående af muhammedanske arabere og kristne eller ureligøse afrikanere. Af mange væsentlig vej til arabisk indflydelse i de afrikanske stater.

Men vi ønsker ikke at blive arabere. Vi nærer et historisk had til araberne, som hentede de fleste slaver netop i Sydsudan.

Min mor var slavinde. Længer er det ikke siden, at den slags endnu fandtes.

## Øvelsesplads

— Hvad ønsker de sydsudanesiske afrikanere?

— Vi vil have lov til at oprette vor egen stat. Vi hører til det sorte Afrika — ikke til de arabiske lande. Det kan vi ikke få lov til.

I stedet bruger araberne, ægypterne, libyerne og algerierne Sydsudan som øvelsesplads, før soldaterne slipper løs i krigen mod israelerne.

Der er i øjeblikket 35.000 fremmede, arabiske tropper i Sudan og 3000 sovjetiske rådgivere. De er udstyret med de mest moderne våben og fly. Vietnam er ikke det eneste sted, hvor der anvendes napalm.

— Får sydsudanesiske ikke hjælp fra de øvrige afrikanske lande?

— Militært kan de ikke hjælpe os og materielt er de så fattige, at de ikke engang kan hjælpe deres egen befolkning. Men præsidenterne Nyerere i Tanzania og Kaunda i Zambia støttet os moralsk. Andre afrikanske lande tror, at det vigtigste er at bekæmpe den hvide imperialisme. De fatter ikke, at det er enhver form for imperialisme, der må bekæmpes. Desuden er de bange for at blive involveret i den arabisk-israelske konflikt.

Den politiske støtte og materielle hjælp må komme fra andre lande — som de skandinaviske. De støtter jo andre afrikanske frihedsbevægelser.

erup.

POLITIKEN, Copenhagen

February 24, 1971

CPYRGHT

## LIBERATION FRONT LEADER SEEKS AID FOR SOUTH SUDAN

The Arabs have begun genocide on the African population in South Sudan. Between a half and a million Africans have been slain, a million are refugees, and the rest of the African people in the country really live as refugees!

This is the background for the visit of Dr. Dominic A. Mohamed, the representative of the South Sudanese Liberation Front, Anya Nya, the last few days here in Scandinavia in order to seek aid for the refugees. In Copenhagen, he had conversations with, among others, the Danish Refugee Aid and the National Church Relief about the possibilities for support to the many who now live in the neighboring countries, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Congo, The Central African Republic and Chad.

Besides, the objective of his trip was to draw attention to South Sudan, such as where pressure can be placed by the government on the Arabs to stop the war, to have a UN investigation carried out on the conditions in the country and to request the Red Cross to send medicines and food both into South Sudan and to the refugees in the neighboring countries.

#### Artificial State

"No one pays attention to what is going on in South Sudan, or also they prefer to look to the other side," said Dr. Mohamed to Politiken during his visit in Copenhagen.

Sudan is an artificial state, created by the British and consists of Mohammedan Arabs and Christians or unreligious Africans. For many reasons, the Arabs desire to preserve their mastery over southern Sudan. The Nile flows through the country and in contrast to North Sudan, South Sudan has relatively good agricultural land also away from the Nile. Finally, South Sudan is an essential way for Arab influence in the African states.

"But we do not desire to become Arabs. We feel a historic hatred of the Arabs who got most of the slaves precisely in South Sudan.

"My mother was a slave. It was not long ago that this sort of thing was still found".

#### Training Ground

"What do the South Sudanese Africans desire?"

"We wish to have permission to establish our own state. We belong to the Black Africa, not to the Arab countries. We are not permitted to do this.

"Instead, the Arabs, Egyptians, Libyans and Algerians use South Sudan as a training ground for the soldiers to be let loose in the war against the Israelis.

"At the moment there are 35,000 foreign Arab troops in Sudan and 3,000 Soviet advisors. They are equipped with the most modern weapons and planes. Vietnam is not the only place where napalm is used."

"Do the South Sudanese not get aid from the other African countries?"

"Militarily they cannot help us and materially they are so poor that they cannot even help their own people. But the presidents Nyerere in Tanzania and Kaunda in Zambia supported us morally. Other African countries believe that the most important thing is to combat the white imperialism. They do not understand that it is every form of imperialism which must be combatted. Besides they are afraid of becoming involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

"The political support and material aid must come from other countries such as the Scandinavian. They already support other African liberation movements."



# "Missä kaikki kristityt veljet nyt ovat?"

CPYRGHT

**Dominic Mohamedin** kotimaa on kahdeksan viime vuoden ajan ollut taistelutantereena. Eräässä verilöylyssä surmattiin 79 hänen sukulaistaan. Hän on tällä hetkellä Suomessa siksi, että hänen kärsivä heimonsa tarvitsee lääkkeitä, ruokaa, vaatteita. Dominic Mohamed valmistaa väitöskirjaansa USA:ssa. Hän on kristitty ja pitää tärkeänä tehtävänänsä evankeliumin levittämistä maassaan.

Nuoren Dominicin kotimaa Sudan ei ole aikaisemminkaan ollut yhden kansan asuma-aluetta. Maan pohjoisosan väestö on arabeja ja eteläosan afrikkalaisia. Kulttuuri, kieli, uskonto — kaikki ovat näillä kahdella ryhmällä erilaiset. Englannin siirtomaavallan päätyttyä vuonna 1956 pohjoisen arabit alkoivat hallita pientä ja takaperoista Etelä-Sudania rautakourin. Ensimmäiseksi suljettiin lähetyskoulut, ja lähetystyöntekijät karkotettiin maasta. Sijaan tulivat muhamettilaiset koulut, ja islamista tehtiin pakollinen valtionuskonto. Kun sitten varsinainen sotatila alkoi, haluttiin juuri kristityt tuhotä ensimmäiseksi, koska he olivat lukeneisuutensa tähden vaikutusvaltaisimpia (ainoat koulutahan olivat olleet lähetystyksen ylläpitämiä) ja valkeimmiksi käännytettäviä islamin uskoon.

Dominic oli muhamettilaisesta afrikkalaistodista, mutta hän sai käydä katolista lähetyskoulua, joka oli suhteellisen lähellä kotia.

— Opiskelin samaan aikaan myös koraania, hän kertoi. — Mutta islam ei tyydyttänyt minua — en voinut hyväksyä uskontoa, jota levitettiin vihalla ja tappamisella. Profeetta Muhammed ei vetänyt vertoja Kristukselle, joka antoi henkensä ihmisten tähden. Minusta tuli kristitty ja otin kas-teen.

Päästyään monien vaikeuksien jälkeen stipendiaatiksi Yhdysvaltoihin Dominic Mohamed toimi aktiivisesti mm. kristillisen ylioppilasjärjestön Campus Crusade for Christ'in piirissä.

— Vaikka olenkin katolinen, käyn missä kirkossa tahansa, jossa Raamattua opetetaan totuudenmukaisesti. Löysin Campus Crusaden etsiessäni ryhmää, jonka jäsenet elivät samaa kristityn elämää kuin minä ja jotka olivat käyneet hengellisessä elämässään läpi samoja kokemuksia kuin minä.

Uskon, että jokaisen kristityn velvollisuus on Kristuksen käskyn mukaan mennä kaikkeen maailmaan ja julistaa evankeliumia kaikille luoduille. Minun on tarjottava Raamatun sanomaa Sudanissa — sekä afrikkalaisille että arabeille.

Mutta pakon avulla ei mitään uskontoa saa levittää. Päämääräni on tehdä kristillistä työtä riippumatta siitä, tuleeko minusta maassani tavallinen kansalainen vai presidentti.

Tänään Etelä-Sudanin neljällä miljoonalla afrikkalaisella ei ole yhtään koulua eikä sairaalaa, ei teitä, taloja, lääkkeitä, vaatteita. Ihmiset kuolevat nälkään pillopaikoissaan. Monet saavat surmansa arabien aseista, suuri osa kansaa elää pakolaisina naapurimaissa.

— Sitä en voi käsittää, missä kaikki kristityt veljet nyt ovat. Miksi he eivät auta meitä? Miksi länsimaat ovat kuin kuuroja avunpyynnöllemme? Pelkään sen joutu-  
van siitä, että meillä ei ole öljyä, Dominic Mohamed toteaa alakuloisena. — KK.

For the past eight years, the home land of Dominic Mohamed has been a battle ground. In one certain bloodbath, 79 of his relatives were slain. At the present time, he is in Finland because his suffering tribesmen need medicines, food and clothing. Dominic Mohamed is finishing his thesis in the US. He is a Christian and considers it his important task to spread the Gospel in his country.

Even earlier, the homeland, Sudan, of the young Dominic has not been the living area of only one people. The people in the northern part of the country are Arabs and those in the southern part are Africans. The culture, language, religion -- everything is different between these two groups. With the end of British colonialism in 1956, the northern Arabs began to rule the small and underdeveloped South Sudan with an iron fist. They first closed the missionary schools and the missionary workers were expelled from the country. Instead Mohammedan schools were established and the Islamic religion became the forced state religion. Then when the regular state of war began, they wished to destroy the Christians first since they were in a more influential position due to their extensive reading (the only schools had been those maintained by the missionaries) and were more difficult to convert to the Islamic religion.

Dominic was from a Mohammedan African home, but he was permitted to attend a Catholic missionary school which was quite close to his home.

"At the same time I also studied the Koran," he said. "But Islam did not satisfy me, I could not accept a religion which is spread through hate and killing. The prophet Mohammed could not compare to Christ who gave his life for humanity. I became a Christian and was baptized."

Then after many difficulties he became a scholarship student in the United States, Dominic Mohamed worked actively in, among others, the Christian university organization, Campus Crusade for Christ.

"Although I am a Catholic, I attend any church whatever in which the Bible is taught truthfully. In the Campus Crusade I found the kind of group I was looking for in which the members live the same kind of Christian life as I do and have experienced the same as I in their spiritual life.

"I believe that the responsibility of every Christian is to go throughout the world and preach the Gospel to all creatures according to the word of Christ. I must offer the message of the Bible in Sudan, to the Africans as well as Arabs.

"But by means of force, the spreading of any religion is prevented. My objective is to perform Christian work regardless of whether I become an ordinary citizen or a president in my country.

"Today, the 4,000,000 Africans in South Sudan do not have any schools or hospitals, no roads, houses, medicines or clothing. People die of hunger in their hiding places. Many are slain by Arab weapons; a large part of the population lives as refugees in the neighboring countries.

"I cannot understand where all the Christian brothers are now. Why do they not aid us? Why are the western countries deaf to our plea for help? I fear that it is because we do not have oil," said Dominic Mohamed downheartedly.

**UNITED NATIONS**

**SOUTHERN SUDAN**

# The Forgotten War Still Rages

CPYRGHT

*By A Special Correspondent*

**A** FEW days after Major-General Idi-Amin removed Dr. Milton Apollo Obote from the presidency of Uganda, he announced that he had intelligence reports that Sudanese troops were amassing on the Sudanese-Uganda border to invade his country.

The Sudan denied the reports of attempted invasion.

Major-General Amin's announcement of the threatened invasion from the north might sound very puerile to those who are not familiar with the problems facing both countries, but to those who know, General Amin's announcement was a clever diplomatic move to forestall what might become a reality if he did not make the first move to draw outside attention to it.

Political observers in East Africa now interpret Major-General Amin's move as a tactic to prevent the Sudanese military forces invading his country in an attempt to punish rebellious Southern forces who have been fighting a war of liberation against the Government in Khartoum for the past 16 years.

With the change of government in Uganda and the fluid position during the first few days of the Amin regime, it would be a great temptation for the Sudanese soldier-President to try his hand at this type of game so as to put an end to the thorny problems of the Southern Sudan once and for all. General Amin's announcement forestalled such a move, if ever it was contemplated in Khartoum at all.

Last December, two representatives of the Southern Sudanese Liberation Front charged at the United Nations that the Khartoum Government of Major-General Gaafar-al-Nimeiry was using Egyptian and Libyan troops with equipment supplied by a European power in the 16-year-old conflict that has pitted Christian and pagan black tribes of the Southern Sudan against the Moslems of the north.

## *Genocide*

In what the two representatives described as an overt appeal to world public opinion, they said

the policies carried out by the Sudanese Government in Khartoum was tantamount to "genocide against the four million blacks of the Southern Sudan."

"We call upon the nations of the free world to express their indignation at what is happening and to bring pressure to bear on the nations that supply armaments to Khartoum," said Lawrence Wol Wol, a Sorborne graduate who, as a member of the Southern Sudan Liberation Front, has presented a petition to the United Nations calling for observer teams to investigate his charge of genocide.

The other spokesman, Frederick B. Maggot, who identified himself as a colonel in the ANYA NYA, the guerrilla army of the South Sudan, said aircraft and 25,000 troops were being used to fight his organisation deep in the hilly high grass country of the Southern Sudan. He said over 250,000 black Sudanese had been shot to death in the past eight years and some 250,000 others had died of hunger.

The petition of the two men contained details of allegations of atrocities.

Mr. Edward Lawson of the United Nations, who handles such petitions, explained that the petition would be summarised and submitted to the next meeting of the Human Rights Commission in Geneva.

Under the resolutions of the Economic and Social Council, Mr. Lawson explained, the Commission "has no power to take any action."

## *Forgotten War*

This appears to be the way almost all organisations, including the Organisation for African Unity, have handled the affair of the Southern Sudan since the beginning of the revolt some 16 years ago.

Sudan's forgotten war started in 1955 on the eve of independence. The Khartoum politicians outmanoeuvred a British attempt to protect the South's interests during the independence negotiations. After independence the resentment of the Southerners broke into open revolt.

Sporadic war has continued ever since. This war stemmed from three factors: A British colonial policy for the south which first fostered separate development, then integration with the north, and accomplished neither; a religio-cultural problem; and a tendency by successive Khartoum Governments to rely on military strength to solve the southern question.

The fighting takes place in flat, marshy country of tall elephant grass, sparsely populated by semi-nomadic herdsmen and subsistence farmers pitted against well-armed and well drilled northern soldiers. It has remained a stalemate ever since.

Today, the fighting in Southern Sudan shows no signs of abating. The ANYA NYA guerrilla forces, organised since 1963, have in recent months claimed a number of successes against government outposts. Fatalities on both sides have been estimated at some one and one half million.

The crying need, not only of Southern Sudanese Liberation Front men and their sympathisers, mostly Roman Catholic relief organisations and men of conscience elsewhere outside Africa, is how to bring this fratricidal conflict to an honourable end.

#### *Islamicisation of South*

When Sudanese President Gafaar-al-Nimeiry became Head of State in 1969, he favoured granting the Southern Sudanese some measure of internal autonomy. It was expected that he would abandon the "Islamicisation" policies of his predecessors, a policy so hated by the southerners. Events have proved that the wish is one thing and its implementation quite another.

It is becoming apparent that the Organisation for African Unity must step into this old forgotten war and bring peace to the Sudan.

In 1965, the opposing sides in the Sudanese conflict presented their policies at length in two documents to the Heads of State summit in Accra.

The Khartoum Government's document was entitled: **FOURTEEN DOCUMENTS ON THE PROBLEM OF THE SOUTHERN SUDAN**; and the ANYA NYA document was called "THE PRO-

**BLEM OF THE SOUTHERN SUDAN—A MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED BY THE SUDAN AFRICAN LIBERATION FRONT TO THE 3RD SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF THE O.A.U. AT ACCRA."**

The Khartoum Government's document was based on the resolutions of the Round Table Conference at Khartoum in March 1965, while the Liberation Front document tried to prove that any resolutions agreed to at that meeting were rendered void by the massacres at Wau and Juba in July of the same year.

It is interesting to note that the O.A.U. did not accept the memorandum of the Sudan African Liberation Front.

When the two petitioners presented their case at the United Nations last December the Sudanese Government accused outside forces of stirring rebellion and secession.

The Sudanese Head of State said in an interview:

"They (outside forces) stirred up civil wars in the Congo and Nigeria and they are trying to play the same evil game in the Sudan."

The last person to make such a claim should be the Sudanese Head of State who has himself commanded Government forces against the ANYA NYA guerrillas in the tall grass in the south. He knows too well that this is an internal revolt based on deep-seated resentment against hated northern rule.

Since the OAU have decided not to fan secessionist movements in any part of the continent, and since all member states have ratified the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights, it is time they took collective action to end the "genocide" in the Southern Sudan and bring an acceptable settlement between the Arab north and the Christian black south of the Sudan. It is only through such amicable settlement that peace can return to the country and the 16-year old war be brought to an honourable end.

It is time the conspiracy of silence over the Sudanese conflict is broken.

CPYRGHT

KHARTOUM....ADDIS ABABA....LONDON....PARIS....BONN....

>> Arab-Israeli conflict is boiling over into black Africa, taking the great powers, U.S. and Russia, along with it. The result is a strange free-for-all.

>> Sudan has become the cockpit for international intrigue involving at least three guerrilla wars. This country, larger than Alaska plus Texas, stretches up the Nile into black Africa, has borders with eight African countries.

In the Sudan it is hard to see just who is doing what to whom. Still...

Egypt is involved. The Egyptian Air Force keeps 200 of its second-line MIG fighters and fighter-bombers on airfields near Khartoum, Sudan's capital, well away from Israel. Several thousand Egyptian troops are stationed in Sudan. The present Government of Sudan is committed to eventual union with Egypt.

Russia is involved too. Soviet military aid to Sudan began in 1968. Now Russia provides MIG fighters for Sudan's Air Force, T-55 heavy tanks for Sudan's Army, naval equipment for Port Sudan on the Red Sea, Israel's back gate to the Indian Ocean. Also in Sudan: Hundreds of Soviet advisers--some say 1,500.

Life for Sudan's non-Arab neighbors has been difficult. Ethiopia, where Coptic Christians predominate, worries about arms flowing from Sudan to rebels in Eritrea, an Ethiopian Province. Black-ruled Chad also is fighting off Arab guerrillas who may get arms from Sudan as well as from Libya. But now...

>> Sudan's own civil war appears to be warming up again.

The Khartoum Government, dominated by the Moslem majority in Northern Sudan, has never been able to pacify the Southern area of the country. That part of Sudan is inhabited by some 4 million blacks, most of them Christians.

The Anya Nya, a military force of black guerrillas who want independence for the Southern Sudan, has kept war going for eight years. In this war to date at least 500,000, probably many more, have died. Most of those killed were blacks with ties to the peoples of Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Congo.

>> Israel, says the Sudanese Government, is getting into Sudan's war. Through Israeli military missions in Ethiopia, Uganda and the Congo, say officials in Khartoum, Israel is supplying arms to Southern rebels.

Soviet-made antiaircraft guns lost by Egypt to Israel in the June War of 1967 now are used by rebels against Sudan's Soviet-supplied helicopters.

Ask Israelis, and you get official denials that their arms go to Sudan's rebels. You also get an unofficial reminder: "Sudan is at Israel's back door."

## Africa: Rumbblings on a Fault Line

*Across the midsection of Africa, at roughly the point where the savanna meets the tropical forest, a kind of human fault line separates the Arab world from Black Africa. This zone of instability, from Chad to the Horn, is a battleground where Arab guerrillas are pitted against black governments, and African rebels against Arab regimes. In a sense, two of the stubbornest rebellions—the civil war in the southern Sudan and the Eritrean uprising in northern Ethiopia—are extensions of the Arab-Israeli conflict to the north. The situation in the Sudan has been further complicated by the Soviet Union's powerful thrust toward the Indian Ocean.*

CPYRGHT

### SUDAN

#### The Soviet Viet Nam

Like their neighbors in Egypt, the men who run the Sudan have found foreign Communists a good deal easier to get along with than the domestic variety. Two weeks ago, Major General Jaafar Numeiry, 41, the Sudan's leftist leader, vowed that he would "crush and destroy" the country's 6,000-member Communist Party. The local Communists, he said, were guilty of everything from sabotage to poking fun at the Sudanese armed forces.

Nonetheless, Numeiry's revolutionary regime is becoming more and more dependent on the military support of the Soviet Union, which has some 500 advisers in the Sudan. Farther down the Horn of Africa in Somalia (*see map*), there are an estimated 325 Russian advisers. Last year the Russians began to construct a naval base at Port Sudan on the Red Sea, an installation that will be useful, once the Suez Canal is reopened, in the further expansion of Soviet naval activity in the Indian Ocean. Now the Russians are installing SA-2 anti-aircraft missiles to defend the base.

Even more startling is the fact that about 100 of the Sudan's Soviet advisers are directly helping the Khartoum government to prosecute its civil war against 6,000,000 black southerners. (The north contains 6,000,000 Arabs and 3,000,000 blacks.) The southerners demand autonomy within a federation, arguing that under the existing system they will never be given any real authority by the Arabs of the north; at independence in 1956, for example, the northerners grabbed off 796 of the 800 available government posts. There is, moreover, a long history of hatred between the two regions: in the 19th century, Arab slave traders from Khartoum and Cairo carried off 2,000,000 blacks in chains from southern Sudan.

**Drums Sounding.** Since last September the Russians have engaged in ground operations in all three southern provinces. Last month they accompanied Sudanese army units in a raid on the main guerrilla camp, Owing-ki-bul (an Acholi war cry that means "Hear the

drums sounding"), attacking the southerners by surprise while many were bathing in a river. The rebel *Anyanya* (who took their name from the poison of a cobra or scorpion) lost a dozen men and considerable equipment. A bombing raid against a rebel base at Morta near the Uganda border caused nearly 1,000 civilian casualties.

Russians have almost certainly flown helicopters into combat against southern rebels. They, as well as Egyptian pilots, may also have conducted bombing missions with AN-12 transports and two squadrons of TU-16 medium bombers. The Russians, in addition, are known to have carried out MIG training missions in the north, but whether they have flown MIGs into combat in the south is uncertain.

In any case, the Soviets have already set two unwelcome precedents for themselves: never before have they participated so actively in a Third World counterinsurgency effort, and never have they fought against Black Africans and helped bomb their villages. The situation prompted an Oslo newspaper, *Morgenbladet*, to headline a Sudan story a bit hyperbolically: **THE SOVIETS HAVE THEIR VIET NAM.**

**Soldier of Fortune.** The southerners have received some modest foreign support of their own. In September 1969—about three months after Numeiry seized power in Khartoum and aligned the Sudan more closely with Egypt—the Israelis began parachuting arms and supplies from an unmarked DC-3 to Owing-ki-bul. The DC-3 apparently flies in from either southwestern Ethiopia or northern Uganda; Israel provides extensive aid to both countries. Because the Khartoum government has allowed Ethiopia's Eritrean rebels to cross the Sudan while returning to their own country from overseas, Emperor Haile Selassie has permitted the southern Sudanese to take refuge in Ethiopia from time to time.

Until recently, the southerners were also aided by one of Africa's more notorious soldiers of fortune, German-born

Mercenary Rolf Steiner. A veteran of losing battles in Indochina, Algeria and Biafra, Steiner spent some 13 months trying to train the rebels to fight the ruling Arabs. "They fight very well against each other," he once said. "But against the Arabs they feel inferior."

Late last year Steiner was captured by Uganda police while spending a few days of unofficial rest and recuperation outside the war zone. After three months in a Uganda jail, Steiner was secretly turned over to Sudanese authorities. He is now in prison in Khartoum, where his fate will be settled by still another group of foreign Communists. The case against him is being prepared by some of the 50 East Germans who advise the Sudanese Interior Ministry on security techniques.

CPYRGHT

ARMED FORCES COMMAND DENIES REPORTED SOVIET ASSISTANCE

Cairo, Cairo Radio, March 1, 1971

There is a topic which newspapers have paid prominence to, namely the statement issued yesterday evening by the general command of the Sudanese Armed Forces in reply to the allegation made in TIME magazine. The following is the text of the statement by the General Command of the Sudanese Armed Forces:

Addis Ababa Radio broadcast on Friday evening, February 19, 1971, a report attributed to the American TIME magazine which stated that Soviet experts are helping the Sudan to crush the rebellion movement in the south by building a naval base and missile sites on Sudan's Red Sea coast and that a number of Soviet experts took part with the Sudanese Armed Forces in raiding Sudanese rebel camps last month. The Sudanese Armed Forces statement added that the armed forces general command denies this report completely and presents the following facts connected with this question:

1--The alleged base or missile sites do not exist and Britain, Indian, and other ships which arrive at Port Sudan from all parts of the world confirm this fact.

2--The armed forces have carried out internal security operations in southern Sudan for the past 16 years, and continue to do so, and are scoring successes day after day. Our turning to the great Soviet Union did not take place until after the victorious May revolution two years ago.

3--We know that the purpose of this mad campaign is to cast doubt on the skill of the Sudanese fighter and belittle the splendid results he achieved recently, by telling world public opinion that foreign interference existed and was the main cause for those victories.

4--The U.S. and Western press spare no efforts to harm the firm relations which have grown between our republic and the great Soviet Union, and that we are proud of this friendship and assistance, particularly in the field of experience and equipment.

5--These mad campaigns are the beginning of a foreign intervention through false allegations that the Soviet Union is building bases in the Sudan and is fighting side by side with the Sudanese soldiers in the internal security operations.

CPYRGHT

#### SUDAN FOREIGN MINISTRY DENIAL

Cairo, Cairo Radio, March 20, 1971

The Sudanese Foreign Ministry has denied a report by the U.S. Time magazine that the Soviet Union is building a naval base in Port Sudan harbor. It has also denied the magazine's allegation that Soviet experts have participated with Sudanese forces in operations against insurgents in Southern Sudan. The Ministry has sent a letter to Time magazine's editor in chief refuting the lies contained in the March issue. The letter was published by the Sudanese Embassy in Cairo today.

The Foreign Ministry has accused the U.S. magazine of giving a false picture of Sudanese-Soviet cooperation. It said this cooperation is actually based on mutual interests and on respect for Sudan's independence and sovereignty. The Ministry also affirmed that Sudan is proud of the ties of friendship which bind it and the Soviet Union together, particularly in the field of technical cooperation.

Replying to the magazine's allegations, the Ministry said that ships calling at Port Sudan from all parts of the world can ascertain that the Soviet Union is not building a naval base in the harbor.

Replying to *Time* magazine's allegation that some 100 Soviet advisers had directly helped the Sudanese forces in the South, the Sudanese Foreign Ministry said "the magazine's correspondent should have known and noticed that the Sudanese forces alone successfully carried out their operations in the South, which he reported to his magazine. He should have known also that these forces can frustrate any plot aimed at jeopardizing Sudan's territorial safety."

The Ministry charged the magazine with trying to cast doubt on the Sudanese forces' combat ability. It said the magazine has overlooked the reason why the Northern Sudanese had assumed key government posts after independence; that is, the British left Southern Sudan in a state of economic and educational backwardness which, naturally, left the Southern Sudanese unable to participate in governing the country.

Commenting on the part of the magazine's article on Israel's support for the insurgents in Southern Sudan, the Ministry said Israel's role in the South--which is also part of a large-scale imperialist conspiracy to overthrow Sudan's progressive regime--is aimed at checking Sudan's growing activity in connection with the Arab cause and preventing progress from reaching Southern Sudan.

NEW TIMES, No. 12, USSR  
March 24, 1971

## Letter to the Editors

### Reply to "Time" Magazine CPYRGHT

*Time* magazine in its March 1, 1971, issue published an article under the title "Africa Rumbling on the Faultline." The author had chosen Sudan to be the subject of his imaginative article. Under the subtitle "Soviet Vietnam," the author, in addition to a number of absurdities and misleading information about the Sudan, stated that "about 100 of Sudan's Soviet advisers are directly helping the Khartoum government to prosecute its civil war against 6,000,000 black southerners."

To begin with, the figure given for the total number of Sudanese living in the southern part of the country is a pure invention. According to known records, the total population of the three southern provinces is much less than 3 million, of which more than two million are from large Nilotic tribes who are committed against the Steiner followers and rebel activity and policies as a whole.

Another invention is the alleged participation of Soviet military experts in hostilities in southern Sudan. Under the arresting subtitle "Drums Sounding" the author states: "Since last September the Russians have engaged in

## CPYRGHT

ground operations in all three southern provinces.... The Soviets have their Vietnam." The mysterious author expects his readers to believe that "100 Russians" are engaged in ground operations against a mythical 6,000,000 blacks scattered over an area larger than Spain and France put together.

In the same article the author supplies *Time* readers with more sensational news, such as Russian pilots flying combat missions against a "Hear the Drum Sounding" rebel camp in the jungle.

Another fabrication relates to Port Sudan. In spite of the fact that Port Sudan is an open commercial port where ships belonging to India, Britain and various other countries put in daily, the author, to give *Time* readers another thrill, discloses to the apparently blind crews of those ships that the port is actually being turned into a Soviet naval base.

No doubt the author of the article was prompted and inspired by the recently published news that a contingent from the Sudanese Army had completely liquidated the rebel camps on the Sudan-Uganda boundary. These camps, as admitted by the author of the *Time* article, were used by Israel to train European and African mercenaries who infiltrated into Sudanese territory. The success of the Sudanese Army unit in crushing these boundary pockets of mercenaries is not expected to be good news for the employers of the Steiners and other interventionist enemies of the Sudanese and African peoples.

The rebels, the mercenaries and their employers knew very well that

a small unit of the Sudanese Army, without any assistance from the air, and unaccompanied by any "Russians," captured these camps. By alleging that the Russians did it, the author sought to question the ability of the Sudanese Army unit to do it alone. Such an attitude is only natural, for the Zionists and racists of all kinds do not believe that Africans alone are capable of doing anything without a Steiner or a European of some sort to lead them. But whether the Zionists like it or not, the Sudanese Army did capture the mercenaries' bases and is able to deal effectively with any intruder in the southern part of the Sudan.

However, it is no secret that the Soviet Union does offer assistance to the Democratic Republic of the Sudan. The Sudanese people after more than 15 years of independence found the Soviet Union and the Soviet people to be their true friends. The Sudanese-Soviet friendship is also no secret to be hidden from any quarter. On the contrary, the Sudanese and the Soviet people always feel proud whenever this friendship is mentioned.

Whether the author is a Zionist or a hired hack in Israel's pay is beside the point, but the publication of such an article is unquestionably an insult to *Time* magazine readers. The editors of *Time*, in their blind support of Israel and the Zionist strategy of aggression and intervention in African affairs, have indeed paid a high price in terms of the integrity of *Time* magazine by allowing such an article to be published.

Mohamed El Amin Abdalla  
Sudanese Diplomat



# Anya Nya rebels' power building in South Sudan

CPYRIGHT

With their superior forces the Government holds the towns and roads and prevents any concentration of Anya Nya forces. But particularly in the thick jungle area of Equatoria Province, roughly the size of France, they cannot break the rebels' hold on the countryside.

The Anya Nya are now setting up their own civil administration in all three of the subprovinces, Equatoria, Upper Nile and Bahr el Ghazal, and have started hundreds of bush schools.

## Difficulties

By 1984 George Orwell expected Africa to be the fighting ground of the two Great World Powers—the scene of continuous inconclusive warfare. We still have 13 years to go and at the moment there is fighting in five African territories.

In Chad, Angola, Mozambique, and in the small-scale guerrilla activity of Rhodesia the conflict looks back to the fight to end colonialism. The warfare in the South Sudan is the exception—each month edges the 14-year-old civil war towards greater involvement in the grand strategy of Russia in the Mediterranean and North-east Africa.

For many years the struggle of the South Sudanese Anya Nya rebels to preserve some degree of independence from successive Sudanese Governments was virtually a private fight, ignored by everyone except the refugee organisations.

## Demoted

This has changed since the seizure of power by General Numeiri's revolutionary Socialist Government in May, 1969. Now Sudan is linked with the Arabs of Egypt and Libya, Egyptian, Libyan, and Russian soldiers, airmen and advisers have been moved into the Sudan and brought into the fight against the Anya Nya. The Russian front has quietly moved south.

No wonder Uganda's Head of State, General Amin, has demoted the threat to Africa of Britain selling arms to South Africa to second place to the threat from Sudan. No wonder the Israelis are providing support for the Anya Nya. No wonder the Foreign Ministries of Britain and several other countries and an assortment of intelligence services have recently intensified their watch on the South Sudan.

It is now a war that cannot be ignored. Any hopes that the situation would be resolved by a military defeat of the rebels or by a defusing of the conflict by the Khartum Government's declared policy of recognising the South's claims to a large degree of autonomy are fast disappearing.

The rebels have shown they have the weapons and the will to keep the fight going: the Khartum Government, however genuine its declarations, has failed to make its political solution viable.

The South Sudan has been called "Russia's Vietnam" and "a second Biafra." Both descriptions are at present highly exaggerated. Russian military involvement is still very limited and although about 250,000 refugees have fled from the region, they have been able to find refuge in surrounding countries instead of being surrounded and starved.

But on a lower scale the South Sudan becomes a point of conflict between Arab and Black Africa, between the Arabs and Israel, and so between Russia and the United States. Just in the wings to the south are the large British economic interests in Uganda and Kenya.

The Khartum Government's military drive against the rebels has been intensified in recent months, increasing the flow of refugees into Uganda, Kenya, the Congo, Ethiopia, and the Central African Republic. Khartum's claim that large numbers of refugees have been voluntarily returning to Sudan are rejected by refugee organisations.

## Evidence

Thirty MIG-17s and Russian-built bombers and helicopters are being used

against the Anya Nya. UAR pilots are flying combat missions. The Khartum government administration in the South has been reinforced by Russian advisers. A few Russians have been killed in attacks on Anya Nya camps. Grisly confirmation that they were Russians was supplied by dental evidence. The Anya Nya, knowing that the identity would be challenged, cut off the dead men's heads and had the dentistry established as Russian by dental experts.

A collection of eye-witness accounts prove that bombing raids on rebel camps and villages thought to contain rebels are a regular event. The scale of rebel resistance is shown by a recent attack on Pacholi. The rebels attacked 300 troops and 150 armed police and claim to have killed over a hundred men and to have captured some 80 automatic weapons and 26,000 rounds of ammunition.

Rebel equipment now includes mortars, bazookas, mines, and some light anti-aircraft guns. Some helicopters used in attacks on a rebel airstrip were shot down. That strip is still held by Government troops but the rebels have another available in Equatoria Province.

Wherever they are getting their arms from—and I have no evidence to support the allegation that Israeli arms are being air dropped—the rebels remain an effective fighting force. It is difficult to see how they could be so without the backing of the local people.

And if the civilian population supports the rebels the increased military activity, with the inevitability of rebel soldiers melting away while the civilians remain to be shot up, is likely to lessen the chances of the Khartum Administration being accepted.

Complete military victory being ruled out, there remains a negotiated settlement at some time in the future. The rebels do not believe Khartum's talk of autonomy for the South. Khartum will not agree to the rebels' proposals for peace talks in a neutral African country.

Meanwhile the Arab-Russian build-up continues with its threat to the stability of both the Middle East and Africa.

John Fairhall

CPYRGHT



# WHAT IS WAR?

THIS is a question which every civilised person must ask themselves now that war has become so devastating and terrible. The terrible nature of modern war draws one's attention to a problem that always existed.

Has it ever been right and proper for men to kill each other under due process of law. There are two ways in which men can kill each other under due process of law.

One is by war and the other is by execution. By execution I do not mean necessarily with an axe or the lopping off of your head.

I mean that you are tried, found guilty of some crime, the punishment for which is the taking of your life, and legally done to death by some official person usually called an executioner.

This is called capital punishment. It is worthy of note that capital punishment is increasingly unpopular among civilised nations. In most Scandinavian countries it has been abolished. In the USA it is legal in some states, while in others it has been abolished. In the states where it is legal, it is usually some time since the last execution took place.

In Britain it is quite a while since the last execution took place and very shortly Britain will probably join those countries who have abolished capital punishment.

So much for capital punishment but what about war? More people can die in a week of war than in several years of capital punishment.

The question that arises is this. Is the individual entitled to decide off his own bat, that all killing of man by man is immoral or against the law of God if he believes in such a deity and refuse to fight for his country, when called upon to do so.

The question remains an open one in most countries. In most countries the conscientious objector is now tolerated and allowed to get

I AM among those who believe that man is still among the most fierce of animals and will continue to be a fighter, even unto death, for several hundreds of years yet.—Clinton

away with his refusal to fight under any circumstances whatsoever. But no nation as a whole has outlawed war.

Our own civil war was fought entirely by voluntary recruits. If in another war in which we felt our very survival was involved we saw fit to introduce conscription; would we let the conscientious objector get away with it?

To get the majority of men of any one nation to agree that they will not fight under any circumstances whatsoever seems an almost impossible task.

But supposing you did succeed in convincing that one nation, would it survive among a majority of nations who believe that some things are worth going to war and fighting for?



And supposing it failed to survive, which seems to me most likely in all the circumstances would the moral effort have had any effect upon humanity as a whole. In other words would its going down in a sea of blood have been worth while.

Personally, I more than doubt it. I do not feel that the disappearance of one nation as a result of such a moral decision would have such an effect upon world history as to jus-

tify it. In a couple of hundreds of years it would be forgotten among the warring nations.

I am among those who believe that man is still among the most fierce of animals and will continue to be a fighter even unto death, for several hundreds of years yet.

Civilisation has decided that the conscientious objector must be allowed to do his stuff. I don't see that it gets anybody anywhere. It's just for conscience sake. If you feel like that, you're entitled to be taken seriously. But if you think you're going to convert the world you're in for a big disappointment.

Men realise that it's rather wicked to destroy one another for ideological reasons and rather more wicked to destroy one another for non-ideological reasons.

It used to be the fashion to fight because you belonged to one religion and I to another and both our religions said that the unbeliever should be destroyed. Now it's more fashionable to fight about racial or economic issues.

There are two racial wars going on at the moment or rather one is going on and the other is pending, with a view to settlement, because the whole world is interested.

Both sides feel that the big powers will ensure that actual fighting does not break out again I'm speaking of course of the Israeli-Arab War.

The other war I have in mind is the civil war in the Sudan, between the dominant Arabs of the North and the black Afrinans of the South. We are not allowed to interfere because of the OAU, to which the Arab and African nations also belong.

My sympathies are with the black Africans who are being exterminated by Arab armies. Could the policy of the OAU be in error? I think we have at least to consider the possibility.

# WAR ON THE NILE

CPYRGHT

In humid jungle near the headwaters of the Nile, a bloody war is growing in intensity. On one side are the Arab rulers of the Sudan; on the other the Negro rebels, who demand secession for the country's far south. The heavily-camouflaged rebel guerrillas were trained by ex-Foreign Legionnaire Rolf Steiner (above) until he was caught in neighbouring Uganda and handed over to the Sudan Government. The war receives scant publicity – few outsiders can get in to see it – but the stakes are high. Its outcome is crucial to the Sudan, Africa's biggest country, but also Egypt and Israel realise its significance for the Middle East conflict. In the wings stand Russia and America. DAVID ROBISON has spent several months with the rebels to compile this report.

**F**ifteen hundred miles from the centre of the Middle East conflict, a lone unmarked DC-3 circles over its drop-zone and picks up a guiding signal from a small radio beacon. The pilot is Israeli; so is the operator of the signal beacon. The drop-zone is in the forests of the southern Sudan.

About twice a month throughout the past year, the DC-3 has appeared in the night sky and parachuted arms to waiting guerrillas. The supplies include heavy machineguns, bazookas, hand-grenades, .303 World War

II rifles and old land mines of Russian and British origin. Almost all were captured by the Israelis from the Egyptians during the Six Day War.

The recipients are groups of ill-trained fighters who call themselves Anya-Nya. The name derives from the fatal poison of the Gabon viper; the poison was at one time spread on spears to dispatch tribal enemies with a long and lingering death.

The Anya-Nya say they are struggling on behalf of nearly seven million Africans spread throughout 350,000 square miles

of the Sudan's southern provinces, an area five times that of the British Isles. The rebels swear they will never accept the unitary Sudan State created in 1956 by Britain.

Since 1963 the war has combined with disease and the shrivelling of trade, social services and medical care in the south to kill between 500,000 and a million people. Civilian deaths are now higher than in Vietnam. The Arab-dominated Government far away in the north, in Khartoum, admits that fighting has steadily grown more fierce.

The emotional factor in this remote but bloody trial of strength is the southerners' feeling of being a racially abject group. The southerners allege land-robbery by Arab settlers, forced labour and the diversion of all economic projects to the north.

The figures are certainly revealing. Of 800 Government posts 'Sudanised' at independence in 1956, only four went to southerners. Twenty-one southerners, as against 190 northerners, were admitted to the Sudan police college between 1950 and 1964. Only 20 out of 589 army officers commissioned between 1954 and 1965 were from the south.

By 1965 the 3,000 students at Khartoum University included only about 100 southerners. While the number of Government secondary schools in the north increased from four at independence to 22 in 1965, the south was left with the two schools - both of which are now closed anyway for security reasons. Yet southerners make up about 40 per cent of the Sudan's 15 million population.

Complementing the Arab-Negro conflict is religious hostility. The south is almost entirely Christian or pagan while the north is equally Muslim. The northerner sometimes still uses the word *abd*, or 'slave', to refer to southerners - a reminder that for 80 years, until 1898, several million southerners were carried off as slaves.

Southern soldiers first mutinied in 1955 against the prospect of union with the north. Britain helped to crush that revolt. The dissident soldiers then developed into guerrillas in 1963, using spears and bows and arrows. Later they acquired guns from the Congo, where disorder made weapons easily available.

The first planeload of arms from Israel reached the south in September 1969. But Israel was the last of the four outside Powers involved in the Middle East to intervene in the Sudan - after Egypt, Russia and the US.

The eight-year-old war has now a volatile mixture of participants. These include Egyptian troops

army 'advisers' with tanks and armoured helicopters, East German security men, Libyan soldiers, Israeli advisers, and American agents. Finally there was a mercenary element.

Outside intervention followed from the Sudanese army coup of 25 May 1969, when Colonel Jaafar Muhammad el-Nimeiry overthrew the civilian Government in Khartoum. Immediately after the coup all the old-line parties except the Communists were suppressed. Since then the army has continually been purged of any conservative elements and Nimeiry has even split the Communists by frequent reshuffling of his Cabinet and arresting the Communist Party secretary-general. Except for segments of the army, Nimeiry's support comes from his powerful foreign backers.

Egypt's late President Nasser acted quickly to sustain the Nimeiry regime; a UAR-Libya-Sudan defence alliance was soon born. The Sudan then announced it had become a 'confrontation State' against Israel and an Egyptian army college moved to Jebel Aulia, south of Khartoum, to become the Sudan General Staff School. To protect the regime, 5,000 Egyptian troops were deployed into the Sudan and concentrated around Khartoum.

Up to 100 Egyptian combat aircraft, including a squadron of MiG 17s and MiG 21s, stand under a desert sun at Wadi Seidna airbase, just north of Khartoum and safely out of the range of Israeli Phantom jets. For five days at the end of March last year, they were used within the Sudan to bomb the headquarters of the Ansar Muslim, a sect of two million conservative Arabs.

The bombing raids followed an unsuccessful attempt by Ansar civilians to assassinate Nimeiry with spears and clubs when he visited the town of Kosti, near the Ansar stronghold. The Egyptian MiG attacks left 3,000 dead on the Ansar island of Aba on the White Nile. The Ansar religious leader, the Imam el-Mahdi, was killed as he fled

Russians have followed the Egyptians into the Sudan, as they did in the Yemen, Aden and Libya. A Western teacher in Omdurman last summer has told me of his surprise at hearing Soviet army instructors giving orders to Sudan troops - in Russian.

According to a British aircraft mechanic who worked in the Sudan, Soviet military pilots ferry military supplies in from Egypt in Antonov transports almost daily. At least five of the largest Antonovs, the AN-24s, have been converted into bombers, he said. These have joined with two squadrons, each of six giant TU-16s, that carried out raids on the south in the last three months of 1970.

Diplomatic and intelligence sources in two neighbouring African countries - and in Washington - say that the Russians have also given the Sudan MI-8 civilian helicopters converted with armour-plating and rocket-launchers, more than 100 T-55 heavy tanks, as well as howitzers, artillery and ground rockets.

More important is the presence of Red Army advisers - now almost 1,000-strong - Soviet helicopter and jet pilots, and ground crews. More than 100 Russian officers are reported serving with Sudanese combat units in the south and a Russian general is said to command troops at Juba, southernmost provincial capital.

Egyptian pilots are believed to have carried out recent bombing raids on the south - raids that were beyond the present competence of Sudanese crews.

The mystery is why the Russians have apparently committed their own men to combat. A Washington specialist on the Sudan argued to me as follows: 'I guess the Russians wanted to control the Sudan army, so they had to move into the field with the Sudanese to show how to use Soviet equipment. But now the Soviets cannot afford to let the southern Sudanese win, because Russian equipment, officers and prestige are involved. I suppose

they also are testing their equipment as we did ours in Vietnam.

For the same reason, the Norwegian newspaper *Morgenbladet* carried this headline over a Sudan story last December: SOVIETS HAVE THEIR VIETNAM.

If the Russians build missile sites for Sam-2s and Sam-3s in the Sudan, they will duplicate almost exactly their commitment in Egypt, though on a smaller scale. There are unconfirmed reports that missile sites are being prepared.

There are also some East Germans running the Sudan Ministry of the Interior. Their main activity is internal security and surveillance.

Opposition to Nimeiry is divided. The guerrillas of the Sudanese National Liberation Front do not trust Khartoum's conservative Arabs, and vice versa. The Arabs have received money from Saudi Arabia, whose conservative sheikhs fear Russo-Sudanese subversion from across the Red Sea.

Neighbouring Ethiopia has become a sanctuary for Sudanese exiles. The obsession of Ethiopian foreign policy - 'Arab encirclement' by the Muslim countries on its borders. Sudan and Libya are known to be sending arms and money to the separatist Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) in Ethiopia. But the Emperor is unwilling to aid the anti-Nimeiry groups openly in the Sudan because of his symbolic role as father of the Organisation of African Unity, where Arab-African conflicts are never mentioned.

The southern Negroes still hope for aid from America on the basis of 'cold war' competition in Africa. In 1965 they received parachuted arms near the Congo border. An American Negro, named only as Louis, mysteriously joined the Anya-Nya and guided in airdrops with his radio.

But that was at a time when the Khartoum Government was pro-Russian. When Sadiq el-Mahdi became Prime Minister and the Government turned cool towards Moscow, Louis disappeared and the American aid

stopped. An Anya-Nya chief has said: 'If the Americans can throw out Nimeiry by using his Arab opposition, they won't give us a dime.' The mysterious Louis would receive a warm welcome if he reappeared, however.

In 1968, the Anya-Nya leader Joseph Lagu went to Israel to appeal for aid. It took Israel a year to decide, after consulting Ethiopia, Uganda and the Congo. Today, 30 Anya-Nya second lieutenants, fresh from three-months' training in Israel, instruct

the guerrillas in fieldcraft and marksmanship. They are supervised by three Israeli officers.

One guerrilla described for me his personal quest for Israeli arms and training. 'We crossed the Nile in rubber boats, at night, and walked 10 days to reach one of Lagu's camps. There were four Israelis there - a Colonel John and a captain, who were checking our military training, a radio operator and a doctor. All four spoke English and the radio-man and doctor spoke Arabic, too. We had 30 Anya-Nya training us. They went to Israel in groups and, after three months there, came back as second-lieutenants.

'I shot a .303 rifle, a sten and a Bren machinegun. But for economy we fired only 20 bullets. We had plenty of fieldcraft: how to advance to the enemy, how to ambush, how to find cover and how to walk at night. Then, after one month, the Arabs attacked one of Lagu's posts near our camp. We had a store of arms there.

'The Arabs came at five in the morning, without warning. Lagu sent a reinforcement which never reached there. The Anya-Nya in the post ran away, leaving about 40 arms in the store. We heard the firing in camp and my platoon went to reinforce and got lost.

'The Arabs were mortaring in the bush. We fired at them. Then both sides waited while it rained. We forced the Arabs to go away; they buried seven men by the stream and we had two dead.'

In one area of the south, I visited a clandestine bush school run by teachers loyal to the Anya-Nya. There were three long

grass huts on a parade ground, logs laid out in rows and one guerrilla soldier as guard. Black youngsters danced in a circle, clad only in

shorts or in green leaves. Older boys marched in military drill, while six- to eight-year-olds practised about-faces and marching in single file.

A teacher whistled and classes began again. The youngest sat on the ground, used wooden sticks or their fingers to draw tablets in the sand and practise writing words in Kakwa, the local dialect, with symbols remarkably like Hebrew. Ten-year-olds sat on the logs nearby, singing Christian missionary hymns. The school itself had no paper, pencils, desks or books.

Inside one open-sided hut, about 60 boys of grade four, aged 13 to 24, practised writing sentences. They had pencils and paper paid for by farming and bought across the Uganda border. I questioned them: What would they do after grade four?

About one-third of them finally said they would join the guerrillas. Why? One after another they told stories of seeing schoolmates rounded up at school by Sudan army patrols. 'When I talk about it, I have a burning feeling,' one said.

The Anya-Nya fighters come from several different tribes. After several months of training, many of the men will have run away with their arms, preferring to soldier in their own tribal areas under local self-appointed colonels.

I went with one Anya-Nya unit while it made an attack on the Sudan Army post at Kajo Kaji, close to the Nile near the Sudan-Uganda border. The night I arrived, the Anya-Nya were grouped around their fires, singing one of their popular songs: 'Three persons Anya-Nya/Killed Arabs with bows and arrows/The rest started running./In the beginning we told you;/What did we tell you, oh Arabs?/We said the birds would eat you,/The birds will fly over you, Northern youth/Your country is eaten by vultures.'

The Anya-Nya group was led by Colonel Rolf Steiner, the

German-born ex-French Foreign Legionnaire who commanded Biafra's 4th Brigade in the Nigerian civil war. Steiner asserted that, unlike the dozen other whites who fought in Biafra, he was not a mercenary.

The Anya-Nya said that he lived in the Sudan as poorly as they do and had not received money from abroad, even to augment his obviously meagre food supply. 'I am an extremist,' Steiner told me. 'The Africans need my help and I'm prepared to spend five years here.'

Of the three platoons he had trained for the Kajo Kaji attack, one never even arrived at the starting-point; their major simply went off to another headquarters. His men remained in their base camp despite strict marching orders. This behaviour, it appears, is not unusual among the Anya-Nya.

The other two platoons

assembled with their weapons - British Bren-guns, a Russian heavy machinegun and Russian bazookas and British .303s. Reconnaissance patrols to the northern Sudanese army post showed that the 'Arabs' (the Anya-Nya name for all northerners) were not expecting an attack. They were busy playing football on the parade-ground in the late afternoon.

At midnight, one Anya-Nya platoon left for its assigned position in bushes only 65 yards from the Arab barracks. An hour later, the second platoon set out. Its guide was an elderly sergeant who lived in the area and had guided reconnaissance patrols perfectly. But by five a.m. the second platoon was utterly lost; at sunrise it was a mile from the post. There was no time left to get in position undetected. Steiner could only hope that the first platoon would realise its isolation

and withdraw in time. Promptly at six, the first platoon was discovered. It launched its attack with bazooka fire against four barracks and succeeded in burning down all but one of the buildings in the post. Three Anya-Nya were killed as the platoon retreated.

The redeeming feature of the attack, for Steiner, was that the Anya-Nya had never fought so well before. However, although he planned a second attack, most of the Anya-Nya officers mutinied five days later. They said the orders were too strict. They preferred to go back to their usual style of fighting. This involves occasional ambushes - which are poorly-prepared and mainly use fire directed from a long distance.

Despite the mutiny, Steiner did not show himself too discouraged. 'Patience,' he told me. 'Our time is still coming.' In fact, he never had a chance to see it come. ∞

NIGERIAN OBSERVER  
March 12, 1971

# What's OAU Doing About Sudanese Debacle?

CPYRGHT

MANY right thinking Africans, no matter their leanings, must have viewed with utter dismay, Press report emanating from no less a personage than the bulky and controversial Ugandan army ruler, General Idi Amin Dada, that there is a "South Africa in Southern Sudan where Catholics and Protestants are not allowed to go to church".

Although the Kampala regime is as yet too effeminate to pursue its cherished objectives through the proper diplomatic channels, the

present state of war in Southern Sudan cannot be allowed to go on indefinitely while all Africa looks on.

Indeed General Amin

sounds one useful note when he mentions that the OAU cannot confine itself to double-talks and endless but ineffective resolutions over South

Asks  
Abraham Omoyi

Africa and Rhodesia when right at our own nose, the all-Arab Khartoum government oppresses and persecutes the black Sudanese majority.

Much of the Arab-black bitterness is older than those now organising or fighting the war itself.

In the nineteenth century, Arab slave raiders and ivory traders were said to have removed two million blacks from this region alone, in chains through the desert, and at a huge cost of black African lives.

## monopoly

Moreover, when the British came late last century, the ancient capital of Khartoum remained their centre of administration and together with this was the grooming of local Arabs for leadership just in case the Englishman had to go.

It is therefore not surprising that in 1956 and ever since, Arabs have monopolised virtually every office of government and have held just to the economic life of the state.

When the British left in 1956, Arabs who constituted only six million of Sudan's fifteen million people grabbed 79% out of the 800 vacant posts in government departments.

Fifteen years of independence, however, helped a lot to heal the serious wounds inflicted on the Sudanese blacks by neglect, ignorance and illiteracy.

As the years wore on, after 1956, blacks started making demands for equality with their northern neighbours.

It is, of course, a constant if not an intentional deformity in British framed constitutions that, somehow, a bone of contention must be left in the political soup-pots of colonies aspiring to independence so that, as soon as the Union Jack is lowered, violence would erupt to engulf a once proud.

In the Sudanese case, power in the hands of Britain not only left the minority, Arab Sudanese but made sure that this was firmly entrenched in the law books before they bowed out.

No safeguards were given for the more populous but less advanced blacks should they in the future, come face to face with civilization. The end result so far is that while no Arab is prepared to give any concession to the blacks, the Southern Sudanese are firmly demanding autonomy.

## resistance

Throughout the 1960s spirited efforts have been made by black Sudanese nationalists to assert their rights through violence as it became increasingly evident to them that Arabs of the North would never really part with their positions of authority under the existing system.

Although the Southern "rebels" have kept up their resistance at a purely guerrilla level, the Arab chiefs at Khartoum have frowned bitterly at this subtle attempt by the blacks to truncate their authority.

They replied by thrusting the all-Arab Sudanese army into suspected rebel hideouts flushing them out in their tens and hundreds.

But in resillience, the black Sudanese are much a match for the Arab soldiers from the north, and what had started years ago as primitive bush fights has now developed, sadly enough, into a sideshow of the sophisticated Middle East confrontation.

To break the will of the southerners, the Khartoum regime has in recent months, approved air raids into densely populated southern towns and villages.

One particular bombing base at Mollat, near

the Ugandan border, caused nearly 1,000 civilian casualties.

International observers who flew into the scene of incident to assess equipment used by the Khartoum government forces said they were of Russian origin.

Khartoum, of course, has never made secret of its "friendship" with the Soviets in recent months.

Despite General Numeiry's vow to wipe out local communists who number only 6,000, the Sudanese leader still tolerates about 100 Russian "advisers" among whom are the only pilots who help him in prosecuting his war of "smash and rule" in Southern Sudan.

## arms

The Southern "rebels" themselves are not completely starved of external support.

Since Numeiry started moving Sudan closely to Egypt and Russia, Israel began parachuting arms and supplies from an unmarked D.C.3 to Owing-ki-bul, a major guerrilla camp.

The Israel plane, obviously flies in from either Uganda or Ethiopia; Israel provides substantial military aid to both countries.

Khartoum and Addis Ababa are particularly not on speaking terms since Sudan started offering access routes to Ethiopia's Eritrean rebels returning to their country from overseas.

Meanwhile, South Sudanese refugees are received with open arms in Ethiopia from time to time.

atlas/APRIL 1971

# ANOTHER VIEW OF THE STUBBORN WAR IN SUDAN

*Moscow keeps busy in Africa*

CPYRGHT

Translated from RHEINISCHER MERKUR, Cologne

Two months ago, ATLAS published a British view of the 16-year-old war that is raging between the Arab rulers of northern Sudan and the black (Christian) Africans of the South. As our February report suggested, the hopes raised by the takeover of General Gafaar al-Nimeiry, a "democratic socialist", have largely come to naught as reports of further killing continue to come in to the U.N. This follow-up report by Siegmund Schelling, the foreign editor of Cologne's respected conservative weekly *Rheinischer Merkur*, contradicts positive reports from other sources. Schelling blames the Soviet Union for keeping the Sudan in a state of turmoil to provide a staging ground for rebel forces in surrounding nations.

**W**ESTERN journalists trying to visit the Sudan today are screened most carefully. If an applicant's record shows that he has studied the South Sudan and its problems, he may be sure of not getting a visa. And even if he does succeed in going to Khartoum, he will definitely not reach the South Sudan. One million deaths are too much for the public to take. A million dead do not fit into the TV screen. Better leave them alone—else a new Biafra might be evoked.

In the Sudan, as in many lands on the underbelly of the Sahara, the struggle between Arabs and black Africans is raging. Like its predecessors, the Nimeiry government is trying to gain control of the situation. But the fact remains that animosities between blacks and Arabs are nowhere more virulent or tenacious than in the Sudan.

Tribal conflicts in the Sudan

were held in check by British colonial rule until 1963—the year of independence. With the ouster of England came the end of tolerance: the Sudan split apart. All that still bound North and South together was the bitter heritage of slavery. For a century the Arab tribes had sent their caravans across the Nile swamps to get slaves; for a century, the southern tribes were the servants and bootblacks of the Arab North. The British were only too glad to leave the job of civilizing the South to the missionaries: church-sponsored schools were no burden on Great Britain's budget. In the civil war that marked the English retreat, Moslem army and police forces began to get control of the country; missionaries in the South were driven over into the Congo or Chad. And the resistance movement in the South developed a momentum which all the napalm, phosphorus

bombs and torture used by Khartoum could not stamp out.

It was only natural that the Khartoum government, faced by this conflict and by growing economic troubles, turned to the first power that offered help—the Soviet Union. And that it sought to internationalize its problems by aiming for a quadruple alliance with Libya, Egypt and Syria. Today the Soviet position in the Sudan is an accomplished fact.

Still, the Soviets, like the British before them, need a middleman. That role is played by Egypt. Egyptian "advisers" were already in the Sudan before the Nimeiry coup of May 25, 1969: today there are about a thousand in the country. The military school in Khartoum, indirectly controlled by the Soviets, is one of the best in the country. Over 200 MIG-19's and MIG-21's are stationed in the Sudan. These aircraft are not only an element of support for the Arab cause: they are used to keep the Nimeiry regime in power.

**N**imeiry, who tried to set up a Nasser-type "Arab socialist" regime, has outlived ten *putsch* attempts. His survival would not have been possible without Soviet assistance. Yet it is typical of this country, in area the largest of the

*Rheinischer Merkur*



CPYRGHT

African states, that Nimeiry speaks only for Khartoum and not for the rest of the territory; numerous guerrilla organizations have set up shop here. One such group is FROLINA, the Islamic liberation organization operating in the Chad. The Sudan also provides a rear grouping area for the Eritreans who at the moment are trying to overthrow the Haile Selassie regime in Ethiopia. The proposed federation of Sudan, Egypt, Libya and Syria should give new impetus to these subversive activities.

Both the U.S.S.R. and Red China have tried to secure a foothold in Africa. So it is a natural reaction for the Western powers, particularly the U.S. and Israel, to intensify their own activities in the area. It remains to be seen how successful they will be. In the African game, the Sudan occupies a key position. Thus far the Soviets have been able to play the British cards in the old way. How long Nimeiry can hold on, however, depends on whether his government can work out an arrangement with the South.

That looks unlikely. The hatred between the two halves of the Sudan runs deep. In Khartoum one notices little of this; but as soon as one crosses the border into the Sudan from the Congo or Chad, one comes upon burned-out villages, abandoned settlements, "scorched earth" on the

Vietnamese model. One sees children's drawings on walls of houses or schools—drawings that reveal all that the children know: violence. In the South Sudan, only one child out of four reaches adulthood; there is no medicine, there is not enough to eat, there are no schools left since the missionaries were driven out.

Meanwhile a million people have been killed in the Sudan. The world has taken no notice because journalists get no visas, journalists get only as far as Khartoum. There are no foreign "interests" to defend here, either economic or political. The only world power to have "discovered" the Sudan to date is the Soviet Union. The Soviets are using it as a pawn in their strategic game to build their own influence in the Arab world as well as to combat the inroads of Communist China into black Africa.

With England, the Western world withdrew from Egypt and the Sudan. Through its protégé Nimeiry, Moscow has established itself in the breach. For the moment it appears to be out of the question to hope for recovery of influence in the area, not to mention establishment of a democratic regime. For the time being the surrounding states must resign themselves to the fact that, while the Sudan has its own rebellion, it also provides a staging area for insurgent movements in nearby countries—Uganda, Ethiopia and Chad.

# SOUDAN :

## Réserves à l'égard de l'unité arabe

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Associé à la Libye et à la République Arabe Unie dans le « Front Révolutionnaire » fondé en décembre 1969 par Gamal Abdel Nasser, le Soudan se félicite des avantages que comporte pour lui cette formule : appui politique organique du Caire, coordination croissante des échanges dans la moyenne et basse vallée du Nil, perspectives d'investissements libyens dans une industrie encore embryonnaire et dans une agriculture placée devant de lourdes tâches de modernisation. Et le général Gaafar al Nimeïri a soutenu l'action politique du Raïs jusqu'au jour même de la mort de celui-ci : durant la crise jordanienne-palestinienne de septembre, il a été chargé, en particulier, d'aller faire le point à Amman en vue de préparer la médiation interarabe. Un colonel soudanais dirige d'ailleurs encore le groupe d'officiers arabes qui contrôle, sur le terrain, l'application de

l'accord intervenu entre le gouvernement royal d'Amman et le Comité Central de la Résistance Palestinienne.

Ce n'est donc pas une opposition de principe que le Soudan a exprimée, début novembre, aux projets égyptiens de renforcement du « Front ». Mais le général Gaafar al Nimeïri, lors de ce petit « sommet », a cependant formulé des objections à l'encontre tant de la formule égyptienne de « direction politique unique » que des vœux libyens d'unification immédiate des services diplomatiques, de création d'une Organisation populaire unique et de fixation d'un délai maximum de trois ans pour la réalisation d'une unité complète entre les trois Etats.

Le contre-projet soudanais, envisageant un acheminement graduel et prudent vers le but uni-

taire, préconisait que l'évolution se fit, dans chaque Etat et pour l'ensemble en gestation, par étapes. Il suggérait que, dans un premier temps, fût réalisée la totale « libération » politique et économique de ces pays, et qu'il y fût institué des gouvernements stables garantissant la liberté, la démocratie, l'indépendance économique et la levée d'une solide armée. Puis devaient intervenir, au cours d'une seconde phase, des essais d'échanges techniques et culturels soumis ensuite à un examen critique, et une coordination des économies opérée grâce à l'action d'un Conseil de Planification commun.

Conformément aux vues soudanaises, ce n'est donc pas une formule de « fédération », c'est un « plan d'action » unitaire que les trois chefs d'Etat ont adopté le 8 novembre. Et le général Gaafar al Nimeiri a pu souligner, dans un message radio-diffusé le 16 novembre, que les mesures d'unification envisagées seraient lentes et progressives. Il ne s'agit pas seulement, pour le gouvernement de Khartoum, de ménager un sentiment ombrageux de l'indépendance nationale, qui demeure vif dans tous les milieux qu'a touchés l'influence historique du mahdisme. Mais il convient aussi, et surtout, de progresser d'abord dans la solution de certains problèmes particuliers au Soudan, de manière à pleinement assurer l'homogénéité du pays avant d'engager à fond celui-ci dans un ensemble plus vaste.

Le rétablissement d'une situation normale, dans les provinces méridionales

du pays a constitué, on s'en souvient, le souci primordial du gouvernement révolutionnaire soudanais, dès l'accession de celui-ci au pouvoir, au printemps 1969. L'autonomie interne a été promise à cette région, un plan spécial de développement a été élaboré à son profit, et le ministère des Affaires du Sud, confié à une personnalité politique locale, M. Joseph Garang, s'est mis en devoir de rassurer la population par diverses mesures administratives ; une amnistie générale était accordée, les réfugiés étaient invités à regagner leurs foyers, et les autorités de Khartoum se déclaraient disposées à entrer en conversations avec ceux qui s'étaient rebellés contre les abus du passé.

Certains résultats ont pu, de la sorte, être obtenus dans les villes et les principales bourgades du Sud, qu'ont regagnées plusieurs milliers de fugitifs : les écoles et un certain nombre d'églises ont été rouvertes, les ateliers d'artisans et les petites industries locales ont repris vie, le commerce local a retrouvé une partie de son activité. Mais les Soudanais du Sud réfugiés à l'extérieur, soumis d'ailleurs à diverses propagandes indépendantistes parfois inspirées de l'étranger, hésitent encore à rentrer. Les dirigeants séparatistes qui animent, dans le « maquis », l'insurrection armée de l'Any-Nya (« Front de Libération de l'Anzanie ») et les chefs de la plupart des « gouvernements en exil », dont l'articulation est d'ailleurs confuse, se refusent à transiger et visent à la création d'un Etat nigro-africain du Haut Nil ;

CPYRGHT

seul l'un d'entre eux, M. Gordon Mayer, au nom du « gouvernement provisoire du Nil », c'est dit prêt à négocier, mais apparemment sans rien rabattre de ses exigences.

Les forces soudanaises continuent donc d'opérer contre les groupes de rebelles armés qui tiennent, ou parcourent, une grande partie des provinces méridionales ; elles trouvent peu de concours auprès de la plupart des populations tribales qui furent naguère l'objet de la répression brutale de la dictature militaire, restent sensibles à l'influence des « maquis » et ignorent les intentions du nouveau gouvernement ou les méconnaissent d'instinct. Comme il est malheureusement presque inévitable dans ce genre d'opérations, de fréquentes confusions sont commises, et il arrive que des rassemblements paisibles sont traités comme des formations rebelles : la presse internationale a signalé, cet été, plusieurs cas de ce genre, en particulier l'attaque d'un groupe de fidèles d'une secte chrétienne africaine réunis dans une église à Bansa, localité des confins du Congo-Kinshasa abritant des réfugiés sud-soudanais, et le meurtre de six chefs et notables de la tribu Dinka, à la lisière du Kordofan. La bonne foi des autorités centrales de Khartoum n'est pas mise en cause par ces regrettables excès, dont la responsabilité incombe à des chefs de détachement induits en erreur ou persistant dans les pratiques de la période antérieure.

Selon certaines informations de

presse (voir en particulier « *El Moudjahid* », Alger, 10 novembre 1970), la rébellion bénéficie d'apuis étrangers, et en particulier Israéliens, mobilisant à son profit des mercenaires européens et visant à constituer trois « fronts de combat » : à l'est à partir de la frontière éthiopienne, au sud sur le Haut-Nil, au sud-ouest dans le Bahr al Ghazal. Le 17 octobre a été arrêté en Ouganda un ancien sous-officier ouest-allemand, que les autorités locales soupçonnent d'avoir fait partie des « maquis » sud-soudanais avant d'être entré clandestinement dans leur pays (« *El Moudjahid* », 25 octobre). Le 8 novembre, le général Hassan Abbas Khaled, ministre soudanais de la Défense, a déclaré, au cours d'une conférence de presse, que les forces soudanaises avaient réussi à détruire, dans l'Equatoria, les quatre bases rebelles de Morto, Edo, Lorango et Bamba, et à arrêter le « chef des mercenaires », Rudolf Steiner, ancien sous-officier ouest-allemand de la Légion Etrangère et naguère « colonel » des troupes biafraises, alors qu'il tentait de s'enfuir vers l'Ouganda. A cette occasion, le ministre soudanais a formellement imputé à Israël et aux Etats-Unis l'envoi aux rebelles d'auxiliaires mercenaires et d'armement lourd, en vue de paralyser le gouvernement soudanais au sein de la coalition arabe et de l'empêcher de jouer un rôle dans le conflit de Palestine.

Les provinces du Sud continuent, de la sorte, de constituer le principal souci du gouvernement soudanais dans le domaine de la sécurité. Il est cependant obligé

aussi de veiller, dans l'ensemble du pays, à ne se laisser déborder ni sur sa droite par les éléments islamo-intégristes ou mahdistes qu'il regarde comme ayant dès l'origine comploté contre lui, ni sur sa gauche par les sympathisants progressistes et communistes qu'il avait, en revanche, associés à sa politique socialiste, mais dont il redoute, de plus en plus, qu'ils ne veuillent mener en dehors de lui, voire contre lui, une action de surenchère pouvant aller jusqu'à la subversion.

En vue de faire face aux menées venant de la « droite », les insurgés mahdistes de l'île d'Eba sont sévèrement poursuivis. Une Haute Cour militaire, constituée le 10 octobre, a entrepris une semaine plus tard le procès de 160 d'entre eux. D'autre part, le ministère de l'Intérieur a annoncé le 19 novembre l'arrestation de plusieurs membres des anciens « partis réactionnaires » et de l'association clandestine des « Frères Musulmans », qui seraient impliqués dans des activités contre-révolutionnaires.

Entre-temps, il a fallu aussi faire face aux intrigues décelées à gauche, et, le 16 novembre, le général Gaafar al Nimeiri a annoncé à la radio que trois ministres, membres du Conseil de la Révolution, avaient été révoqués de leurs fonctions et déchus de leurs grades militaires, en raison des contacts qu'ils avaient pris avec des « éléments subversifs » dont les activités s'étendaient à l'intérieur même du Conseil des forces armées et des syndicats. Il s'agit du colonel Babaker al Nour, vice-

premier Ministre, chargé de l'Economie et de la Planification ; du commandant Farouq Osman Hamadallah, ministre de l'Intérieur, et du commandant Hachem al Atta, vice-premier Ministre chargé de l'Agriculture et des Ressources animales. Quelques jours plus tard, le nouveau ministre de l'Intérieur, le commandant Aboulqacem Ibrahim, exposait aux représentants des « étudiants progressistes » de l'Université de Khartoum que ces mesures n'avaient aucun rapport avec le « plan d'action » tripartite adopté au Caire et pour lequel le chef du gouvernement soudanais avait recueilli l'approbation unanime des membres de celui-ci.

Les trois ministres révoqués, et en particulier le commandant Farouq Osman Hamadallah, avaient joué un rôle important dans le mouvement révolutionnaire du 25 mai 1969 ; depuis lors, le commandant Hamadallah détenait le portefeuille de l'Intérieur ; les deux autres officiers, en revanche, ne s'étaient vus confier de fonctions ministérielles qu'à la suite d'un remaniement partiel, en juin dernier. Tous trois étaient connus pour leurs opinions sociales avancées et pour leurs sympathies à l'égard de l'ancien Parti Communiste soudanais ; cependant, ils ne préconisaient pas, du moins ouvertement, la reconstitution de celui-ci.

Le portefeuille de l'Economie et de la Planification a été confié, par le Conseil de la Révolution, au général Gaafar al Nimeiri.

D'autre part, le jour même de la

CPYRGHT

révocation des trois ministres, onze officiers supérieurs et deux officiers subalternes ont été mis à la retraite d'office, probablement pour d'analogues motifs idéologiques.

Enfin, le lendemain 17 novembre, était annoncée l'arrestation de M. Abdelkhaleq Mahgoub, secrétaire général de l'ancien Parti Communiste soudanais, auquel était de longue date reproché de poursuivre la reconstitution de celui-ci et d'envisager son action sous la forme d'une force indépendante. Au printemps dernier, le gouvernement avait déjà écarté du pays, pour quelque temps, M. Abdelkhaleq Mahgoub, puis l'avait autorisé à rentrer et semblait lui avoir de nouveau témoigné une certaine confiance. Il semble probable que M. Mahgoub ait profité de l'ouverture à gauche que manifestait le remaniement ministériel du mois de juin pour accroître ses contacts dans les milieux gouvernementaux, et qu'il ait de la sorte profité de certaines indiscretions. On peut donc présumer, en dépit de l'absence de toute indication officielle à cet égard, que l'arresta-

tion de l'ancien secrétaire général du Parti Communiste soudanais n'est pas sans rapports avec la révocation des trois ministres auxquels ont été reprochées des imprudences mais que, jusqu'à présent, en raison sans doute de leurs services au profit du mouvement révolutionnaire, le Conseil semble se borner à vouloir écarter des affaires publiques.

Le gouvernement de Khartoum paraît donc, à l'heure actuelle, devoir concentrer beaucoup de son attention sur des problèmes d'édification intérieure, et il est aisé de comprendre qu'il entende assurer d'abord la parfaite solidité du pays et de ses institutions avant d'associer l'Etat à une construction unitaire arabe plus structurée. Cette attitude a d'ailleurs été comprise par les dirigeants égyptiens et libyens, et le « plan d'action » arrêté en commun en tient largement compte. Dans ces conditions, on peut présumer que le Soudan s'associera sincèrement à une œuvre progressive d'unification, menée sans hâte excessive et avec suffisamment de prudence.

*Pierre RONDOT.*

CPYRGHT

## AFRIKA

### SUDAN

#### Hört die Trommeln

Immer wenn über dem südsudanesischen Busch eine DC-3 ohne Hoheitszeichen auftaucht, stürzen schwarze Rebellen freudig gestikulierend aus ihren Verstecken; denn das Flugzeug bringt begehrte Güter: Waffen und Munition, Lebensmittel und Medikamente. Am Steuer der aus Äthiopien oder Uganda kommenden Maschine sitzen Weiße — Israelis.

Sobald aber Mi-8-Großhubschrauber oder An-12-Flugzeuge über die Wipfel knattern, gehen die Guerillas entsetzt in Deckung; denn die Maschinen bringen Tod und Verderben: MG-Feuer, Bomben, Soldaten der Sudan-Armee. Auch am Steuer dieser im Sudan gestarteten Maschinen sitzen Weiße — Russen.

Der Buschkrieg im Sudan, Afrikas flächengrößtem Land, ist in ein neues Stadium getreten. Mehr als zehn Jahre lang hatten sich nur humanitäre Organisationen für den scheinbar aussichtslosen Kampf der sechs Millionen schwarzen Südsudanesischen interessiert, die sich von der arabischen Führungsschicht in Khartum majorisiert und unterdrückt fühlen.

Seit aber der 1969 in Khartum an die Macht gekommene Generalmajor Numeiri seinen 15-Millionen-Einwohner-Staat ins radikale antiwestliche Lager führte, hat sich der Bürgerkrieg zu einem „Konflikt zwischen dem arabischen und dem Schwarzen Afrika, zwischen Arabern und Israel und damit zwischen der Sowjet-Union und den Vereinigten Staaten“ ausgeweitet (so der britische „Guardian“).

Denn weil der revolutionäre Sozialist Numeiri mehr und mehr Russen und Ägypter ins Land holte und damit das Gleichgewicht der Kräfte im östlichen Afrika veränderte, wurden auf der anderen Seite westliche Mächte aktiv — vor allem die Israelis.

Verglichen mit dem östlichen Engagement für Numeiri, nimmt sich die westliche Unterstützung für die nach einem Schlangengift benannten Anya-Nya-Aufständischen allerdings bescheiden aus: Die Israelis instruierten in Israel einige Anya-Nya-Führer — so den Chef der „Southern Sudan Liberation Front“, Joseph Lago —, sie leisten Materialhilfe aus der Luft und schickten 26 Agenten zur Beratung der Rebellen in den Busch.

Bescheidene Hilfe leisten auch Äthiopien und Uganda. Haile Selassies Kaiserreich, seit der linken Machtübernahme in Somalia in die Zange geraten, gewährt den Rebellen Unterschlupf. Der Negus rächt sich damit zugleich bei Numeiri für dessen Unterstützung der Eritrea-Separatisten, die Äthiopiens reiche Küstenprovinz aus dem Kaiserreich lösen wollen.

Uganda, dessen nördliche Stämme zu beiden Seiten der Grenze leben, steht erst seit dem Sturz des Linken Milton Obote am 25. Januar fest an der Seite der Südsudanesischen. Idi Amin, Ugandas neuer Führer, verglich Numeiris Behandlung der schwarzen Sudanesischen mit Südafrikas Apartheid-Politik. Daraufhin drohte Numeiris Minister Abu Issa: „Wir werden angesichts der Einmischung im revolutionären Sudan nicht die Hände im Schoß gefaltet lassen.“

Seine militärische Stärke verdankt der revolutionäre Sudan der Sowjet-Union, die auch an dem Mitte Februar ausgesprochenen KP-Verbot keinen Anstoß nimmt. Das Gästebuch im Hotel der südsudanesischen Provinzhauptstadt Juba ist voll von russischen Namen. In die Spalte „Firma“ haben fast alle „Air Force“ geschrieben.

500 bis 1000 russische Experten drillten Numeiri 30 000 Soldaten. Die Sudan-Luftwaffe ist mit Mig-Überschalljägern, An-12-Transportern, Tu-16-Bombern und Mi-8-Hubschraubern, den „fliegenden Lastkränen“ der Sowjet-Luftmacht, ausgerüstet.

Bei Port Sudan bauen die Sowjets einen Flotten- und Sam-2-Raketen-Stützpunkt. Auf dem Flugplatz Wadi Seidna, 24 Kilometer nördlich von Khartum — außerhalb der Reichweite von Israels Jets —, stehen 100 ägyptische Migs.

Alarmierender aber als die sowjetisch-ägyptische Präsenz im Sudan ist die Verwicklung der sozialistischen Freunde in den Bürgerkrieg, denn seit sechs Monaten beteiligen sie sich aktiv an den Aktionen gegen die Rebellen in den drei Südpunkten:

So brachten im Oktober von Russen geflogene Hubschrauber eine sudanesischen Einheit zum Einsatz gegen das Lager Morta, unweit der Uganda-Grenze. Die Hubschrauber griffen in die Kämpfe ein, angeblich fielen fast tausend Zivilisten. Und im Januar unterstützten Hubschrauber einen Angriff auf „Owing-ki-bul“ (Hört die Trommeln), das Hauptlager der Aufständischen.

Von Sowjets gesteuerte Hubschrauber, Migs und Antonows flogen außerdem von den Basen Juba und Malakal aus Bombenangriffe gegen vier weitere Orte.

„Niemals zuvor haben die Sowjets so aktiv an der Unterdrückung eines Aufstands in der Dritten Welt teilgenommen, nie zuvor haben sie gegen schwarze Afrikaner gekämpft und bei der Bombardierung ihrer Dörfer geholfen“, entrüstete sich das US-Magazin „Time“. Überschrift: „Das sowjetische Vietnam.“

Tatsächlich gibt es Parallelen zwischen Südsudan und Südostasien. So siedeln auch die Behörden im Südsudan die mit den Aufständischen sympathisierende Bevölkerung in befestigten Dörfern an, um die Rebellen zu isolieren. Wie in Saigon scheint auch das Regime in Khartum alles andere als stabil zu sein: General Numeiri erlebte in knapp zwei Jahren Herrschaft nicht weniger als neun Umsturzversuche.

Anders aber als der hervorragend organisierte, disziplinierte Vietcong sind die südsudanesischen Aufständischen durch Stammes- und Führungs rivalitäten zerstritten. Der in einem Khartumer Gefängnis auf seine Verurteilung wartende deutsche Rebellen-Helfer Rolf Steiner: „Am besten kämpfen sie untereinander.“

Experten beurteilen denn auch die Erfolgsaussichten der Südsudanesischen — anders als die des Vietcong — äußerst skeptisch. Ein Washingtoner Militärspezialist: „Jetzt, nachdem Sowjet-Offiziere und Prestige verwickelt sind, können die Russen keine Siege der Aufständischen mehr zulassen.“